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ABSTRACT

This unit of study focuses on the historic period from 1920 to 1966 when China's Mao Zedong and India's Mohandas Gandhi constructed and applied their social and moral visions to their respective nationalist movements. These leaders developed contrasting methods to achieve social change and to establish the goals set for achieving the ideal society. Each had differing ideas about the place of industry and agriculture, the values and symbols needed to mobilize people, the place of violence and force in effecting social change, and the role of personal morality in the larger arena of public morality. This unit may be taught as part of a 20th century world history course or as a section in an elective course on nationalism or comparative politics. Both Gandhi and Mao have been subjects of a large number of biographies and analyses of nearly every aspect of their lives and thought. This unit offers students selected primary sources taken from each man's writing to encourage students to make analytical comparisons. The unit objectives are to: (1) examine the lives of Mao Zedong and Mohandas Gandhi; (2) contrast the views of Mao and Gandhi on the use of violence as a personal and political method; (3) contrast the place of ends and means in the philosophies of Mao and Gandhi; (4) contrast Mao's and Gandhi's views on colonialism and the "oppressor"; (5) compare and contrast Gandhi's and Mao's approaches to mobilizing mass support; and (6) compare and contrast Gandhi's and Mao's views on industrialization and modernization. Teaching materials that apply to national standards for history are provided. (Contains 37 references.) (BT)

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ED 437 324

Mao and Gandhi

Alternate Paths to National Independence and Social Change

A Unit of Study for Grades 9–12

Donald James Johnson
Jean Elliott Johnson

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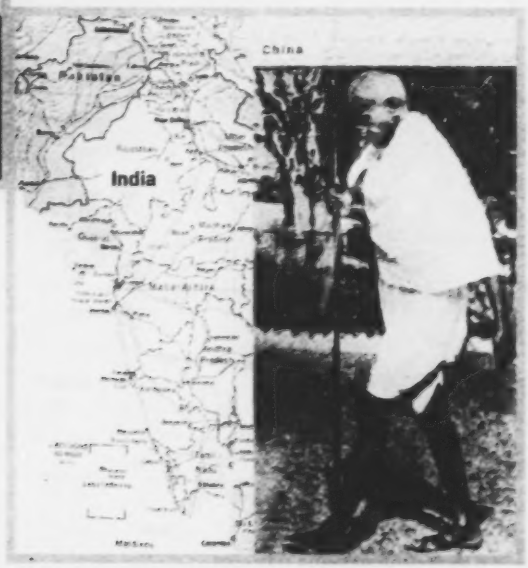

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Mao Tse-Tung, leader of China's Communists, addresses some of his followers. National Archives, (NLR-PHOCO-65386(53)).
Gandhi taking an evening stroll, M.K. Gandhi Institute for Nonviolence

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Mao and Gandhi

Alternate Paths to National Independence and Social Change

A Unit of Study for Grades 9–12

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Introduction

Approach and Rationale

Mao and Gandhi: Alternate Paths to National Independence and Social Change is one of over 60 National Center for History in the Schools teaching units published by the National Center for History for the Schools. that are the fruits of collaborations between history professors and experienced teachers of World History. They represent specific "dramatic episodes" in history from which you and your students can pause to delve into the deeper meanings of these selected landmark events and explore their wider context in the great historical narrative. By studying a crucial turning-point in history the student becomes aware that choices had to be made by real human beings, that those decisions were the result of specific factors, and that they set in motion a series of historical consequences. We have selected dramatic episodes that bring alive that decision-making process. We hope that through this approach, your students will realize that history is an ongoing, open-ended process, and that the decisions they make today create the conditions of tomorrow's history.

Our teaching units are based on primary sources, taken from government documents, artifacts, magazines, newspapers, films, private correspondence, literature, contemporary photographs, and paintings from the period under study. What we hope you achieve using primary source documents in these lessons is to have your students connect more intimately with the past. In this way we hope to recreate for your students a sense of "being there," a sense of seeing history through the eyes of the very people who were making decisions. This will help your students develop historical empathy, to realize that history is not an impersonal process divorced from real people like themselves. At the same time, by analyzing primary sources, students will actually practice the historian's craft, discovering for themselves how to analyze evidence, establish a valid interpretation and construct a coherent narrative in which all the relevant factors play a part.

Content and Organization

Within this unit, you will find: 1) Unit Objectives, 2) Correlation to the National History Standards, 3) Teacher Background Materials, 4) Lesson Plans, and 5) Student Resources. This unit, as we have said above, focuses on certain key moments in time and should be used as a supplement to your customary course materials. Although these lessons are recommended for grades 9–12, they can be adapted for other grade levels. The teacher background section should provide you with a good overview of the entire unit and with the historical information and context necessary to link the specific "dramatic moment" to the larger historical narrative. You may consult it for your own use, and you may choose to share it with students if they are of a sufficient grade level to understand the materials.

The Teacher Background section should provide you with a good overview of the entire unit and with the historical information and context necessary to link the specific Dramatic Moment to the larger historical narrative. You may consult it for your own use, and you may choose to share it with students if they are of a sufficient grade level to understand the materials.

The Lesson Plans include a variety of ideas and approaches for the teacher which can be elaborated upon or cut as you see the need. These lesson plans contain student resources which accompany each lesson. The resources consist of primary source documents, any handouts or student background materials, and a bibliography.

In our series of teaching units each collection can be taught in several ways. You can teach all of the lessons offered on any given topic, or you can select and adapt the ones that best support your particular course needs. We have not attempted to be comprehensive or prescriptive in our offerings, but rather to give you an array of enticing possibilities for in-depth study, at varying grade levels. We hope that you will find the lesson plans exciting and stimulating for your classes. We also hope that your students will never again see history as a boring sweep of inevitable facts and meaningless dates but rather as an endless treasure of real life stories and an exercise in analysis and reconstruction.

Teacher's Background

I. Unit Overview

Among the giants of the twentieth century, Mao Zedong (1893–1978) and Mohandas Gandhi (1869–1948), stand out as exemplars of contrasting philosophies of nationalism, economic development and especially the place of violence in modern political life. Mao's famous dictum that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" places him squarely in the tradition of military might and physical force as the best methods to achieve social change, while Gandhi clung, all the while he engaged in his "Experiments With Truth," to the value of *Ahisma*, or non-violence to any living thing. Ironically Mao, the man of might, died a natural death at age 85; while Gandhi, the man of personal and political peace, died by an assassin's bullet at age 79.

Both Gandhi and Mao were born into comfortable circumstances: Gandhi, the son of a minor government bureaucrat and Mao to a well-to-do educated family. Yet both chose to identify with the poor villagers and farmers who made up a vast majority of both India and China during the first half of this century. Both men mobilized mass movements of common people, each faced a form of western imperial and colonial rule, both espoused not only political independence but insisted on changing the hearts and minds of people, not only in their own nations but around the world. Each man left lasting legacies in India and China as well as large ideological followings around the globe. Mao helped shape the French student movement of 1968, the Vietnamese and Cuban nationalist movements, and continues to influence a strong group of American students and professors to this day. Gandhi, whose political legacy probably has not been as significant as Mao's, nonetheless greatly influenced the Martin Luther King wing of the Civil Rights movement, the Nelson Mandela faction of the African National Congress, and peace movements around the world.

Gandhi and Mao worked out their methods of social reconstruction during the waning days of European colonialism and the nascent development of nationalism among the colonized people in Asia and Africa. Both leaders were challenged to expand their nationalist movements beyond the small middle class educated elite to the broad stream of mass support and participation. Each man sought in his own way to infuse his respective nationalist consciousness with a revolutionary element of personal transformation drawn from the rich traditions of China and India, culminating in large scale social reform. In that sense both hoped to resocialize their people to become a new "Maoist man," and "Gandhian man."

The idealism that shaped the Maoist and Gandhian movements in the first half of this century has largely eroded in contemporary China and India. In the aftermath of the Cultural Revolution the Deng Shao Ping inspired move to a market economy has taken China a considerable distance from Mao's idea of the "socialist man." At the same time India, after Nehru's efforts prior to 1963 to combine socialist and Gandhian principles of peace and non-violence, has also come to accept

both market economic principles and factional interest politics as normative. In the wake of the increasing irrelevancy of Mao and Gandhi, their own nations have drifted into a moral vacuum where self-interest and materialism largely shape cultural values.

II. Unit Context

This unit focuses on the historic period from 1920 to 1966 when Mao Zedong and Mohandas Gandhi constructed and applied their social and moral visions to their respective nationalist movements. These leaders developed contrasting methods to achieve social change and to establish the goals set for achieving the ideal society. Each had differing ideas about the place of industry and agriculture, the values and symbols needed to mobilize people, the place of violence and force in effecting social change, and the role of personal morality in the larger arena of public morality.

This unit may be taught as part of a twentieth-century world history course or as a section in an elective course on nationalism or comparative politics. Both Gandhi and Mao have been subjects of a large number of biographies and analyses of nearly every aspect of their lives and thought. There is, of course, no definitive interpretation of either leader. This unit seeks to place before the student selected primary sources taken from each man's writings to encourage the student to make analytical comparisons.

III. Correlation to the National History Standards

Mao and Gandhi: Alternate Paths to National Independence and Social Change provides teaching materials that address the *National Standards for History,* Basic Edition (National Center for History in the Schools, UCLA, 1996) **World History Era 7** and **8**. Lessons specifically address **Standards 5C** in **Era 7**, 'An Age of Revolutions,' 1750–1914, and **Standards 1B** and **5B** on **Era 8**, 'The Twentieth Century.'

IV. Unit Objectives

- To examine the lives of Mao Zedong and Mohandas Gandhi.
- To contrast the views of Mao and Gandhi on the use of violence as a personal and political method.
- To contrast the place of ends and means in the philosophies of Mao and Gandhi.
- To contrast Mao's and Gandhi's views on colonialism and the "oppressor."
- To compare and contrast Gandhi's and Mao's approaches to mobilizing mass support.
- To compare and contrast Gandhi's and Mao's views on industrialization and modernization.

V. Lesson Plans

1. Mao's and Gandhi's Attitudes toward Violence
2. Applying Mao's and Gandhi's Attitudes toward Violence as a Means of Effecting Social Change.
3. The Long March and the Salt March
4. A Comparison of Mao's and Gandhi's Approach to Development
5. Mao's and Gandhi's Views on the Distribution of Wealth and their Attitudes toward the Rich
6. Application of Gandhi's and Mao's Approaches to Reform
7. Speaking with Images

VI. Timeline

1869	♦ Mohandas Gandhi born in Porbandar, Gujerat
1885	♦ Founding of the Indian National Congress
1893	♦ Gandhi begins work in South Africa ♦ Mao Zedong is born
1895	♦ Sino-Japanese War
1898	♦ Boxer Uprising in China
1896	♦ Gandhi first tests *Satyagraha* methods
1905	♦ Partition of Bengal
1906	♦ Gandhi opens Phoenix Ashram, takes vows of Brahmacharaya
1911	♦ Chinese Revolution led by Sun Yat Sen
1914	♦ World War I begins ♦ Gandhi returns to India
1919	♦ Amritsar Massacre ♦ Gandhi moves to forefront of Nationalist Movement ♦ May 4th Movement in China
1920	♦ Gandhi leads Non-Cooperation Campaign against British
1922	♦ Gandhi sentenced to six years for civil disobedience
1924	♦ United front between Guomindang and Communist Party
1925	♦ Sun Yat Sen dies ♦ Gandhi stresses reforms of untouchability
1926	♦ Chiang Kai-shek heads Guomindang and begins Northern Expedition ♦ Mao Zedong begins work with rural peasants in Hunan Province
1927	♦ Kiangsi (Jiangxi) Peasant revolts ♦ Failed workers' uprisings in Shanghai and Canton
1930	♦ Dandi Salt March; beginning of Gandhi's Civil Disobedience Campaign ♦ Chaing Kai-shek launches military action to wipe out Communist forces in Kaingsi (Jiangxi)
1931	♦ Gandhi goes to England for negotiations
1932	♦ Gandhi fasts against untouchability and is arrested ♦ Congress Party declared illegal

1933	♦ Chaing Kai-shek launches last all-out attack on Communists in Kiangsi
1934	♦ Long March begins
1935	♦ Remnants of Communist forces arrive in Yenen
1937	♦ Japanese seize Peking [Beijing], Tientsin, Shanghai, Nanking and Hangchow ♦ Mao leads Communist forces in war against Japan
1939	♦ World War II begins
1941	♦ Japanese bomb Pearl Harbor; U.S. enters war
1942	♦ Quit India Movement begins
1945	♦ Germany surrenders ♦ Japan surrenders
1946	♦ Civil War begins between Guomindang and Communists ♦ Marshall Mission to China
1947	♦ Indian independence
1948	♦ Gandhi assassinated ♦ Chiang Kai-Shek elected President of China
1949	♦ Chiang Kai-shek resigns as president of China; takes forces to Taiwan. ♦ Mao Zedong proclaims Peoples Republic of China ♦ India adopts Constitution; Jahawaralal Nehru becomes first prime minister
1950	♦ North Korea invades South Korea; China comes to the aid of North Korea
1953	♦ Korean War ends
1958	♦ Great Leap Forward begins
1967	♦ Cultural Revolution begins ♦ Indira Gandhi elected Prime Minister of India
1972	♦ President Nixon visits China; U.S. recognizes China
1976	♦ Cultural Revolution ends ♦ Zhou Enlai dies
1978	♦ Mao Zedong dies

Mao's Dramatic Moment

Ch'en Tu-Hsiu, the dean of the faculty of Chinese letters at Peking University, almost single-handedly changed the intellectual atmosphere of China and had a profound, even life-changing influence on Mao. In 1915 in his first editorial for the magazine *New Youth,* which he edited, Ch'en wrote "The task of the new generation is to fight Confucianism to the death, all the old traditions of virtue and ritual, all the old philosophies and all the old political subtleties: and the old learning must go together. We must break down ancient prejudices and build a new society based on democracy and science." Imagine the effect this call-to-action must have had on young Mao:

> What I want to say, and to say with tears, is that I hope those of you who are young will be self-conscious and that you will struggle. By self-consciousness I mean that you are to be conscious of the power and responsibility of your youth, and that you are to respect it. Why do I think you should struggle? Because it is necessary for you to use all the intelligence you have to get rid of those who are decaying, who have lost their youth. Regard them as enemies and beasts: do not be influenced by them, do not associate with them.
>
> O young men of China! Will you be able to understand me? Five out of ten whom I see are young in age, but old in spirit; nine out ten are young in health, but they are also old in spirit. When this happens to a body, the body is dying. When this happens to a society, the society is perishing. Such a sickness cannot be cured by sighing; it can only be cured by those who are young, and in addition to being young are courageous. We must have youth if we are to survive, we must have youth if we are to get rid of corruption. Here lies the only hope for our society.

Source: Tsi C. Wang, *The Youth Movement of China*, in Robert Payne, *Mao Tse-tung* (New York: Weybright and Talley, 1969), pp. 59–60.

Gandhi's Dramatic Moment

An Indian business firm offered Gandhi a position in South Africa for a year as their lawyer. Gandhi arrived in Durban, Natal in May, 1893. Sometime later he had to go to Pretoria, and his friends purchased first class tickets for the overnight train ride. In his Autobiography, Gandhi writes:

> The train reached Maritzburg, the capital of Natal, at about 9 p.m. . . . A passenger [entered the car] and looked me up and down. He saw that I was a "coloured" man. This disturbed him. Out he went and came in again with one of two officials. They all kept quiet, when another officer came to me and said, "Come along, you must go to the van compartment."
>
> "But I have a first class ticket," I said.
>
> "That doesn't matter," rejoined the other. "I tell you, you must go to the van compartment."
>
> "I tell you I was permitted to travel in this compartment at Durban, and I insist on going on in it."
>
> "No, you won't," said the official. "You must leave this compartment, or else I shall have to call the police constable to push you out."
>
> "Yes, you may. I refuse to get out voluntarily."
>
> The constable came. He took me by the hand and pushed me out. My luggage was also taken out. I refused to go to the other compartment and the train steamed away. I went and sat in the waiting room, keeping my handbag with me, and leaving the other luggage where it was.
>
> It was winter, and winter in the higher regions of South Africa is severely cold. . . . My overcoat was in my luggage, but I did not dare ask for it lest I should be insulted again, so I sat and shivered. There was no light in the room. . . .
>
> I began to think of my duty. Should I fight for my rights or go back to India, or should I go on to Pretoria without minding the insults, and return to India after finishing the case? It would be cowardice to run back to India without fulfilling my obligation. The hardship to which I was subjected was superficial—only a symptom of the deep disease of colour prejudice. I should try, if possible, to root out the disease and suffer hardships in the process. Redress for wrongs I should seek only to the extent that would be necessary for the removal of the colour prejudice.

Source: Mohandas K. Gandhi, *Gandhi An Autobiography. The Story of My Experiments with Truth* (Beacon Press: Boston, 1957), p. 111.

Lesson I: Mao's and Gandhi's Attitudes towards Violence

A. Objectives

- To analyze Gandhi's concept of *ahisma* and its historic roots in Indian civilization.
- To understand how Gandhi drew upon *ahisma* and other Indian values to create his principle of *Satyagraha.*
- To analyze Mao's reliance on violence and war as a means to social change.
- To compare and contrast Gandhi and Mao's views on violence and war.

B. Historical Background Information for Teachers

Mao Zedong

Mao's father was very physical and quick to anger, and he disliked Mao's physical weakness. His father's bursts of temper often drove young Mao into hiding. Mao's mother, on the other hand, was a devout Buddhist who taught her young son that killing any living thing was wrong and that personal salvation depended on giving to the poor.

Mao inherited his father's quick temper and worked most of his life to control it. At the age of 13 in 1906, Mao's Buddhist non-violence was severely challenged. The area had experienced a major famine, and in the fall peasants had armed themselves and demanded that the government open the rice granaries. The leaders of the rebellion were arrested and publicly executed. Mao was so sympathetic to the peasant rebels that he almost became labeled a rebel himself. During these formative years of his life, peasant rebellions, mostly in search of food, punctuated Hunan's political life. By age 13, he had seen two such uprisings first-hand.

In his early life Mao was not attracted by the military. He was not really involved with the army until 1927 when he journeyed to Hunan to study what the peasants were doing and to mobilize the peasant uprisings into a more politicized program. The Autumn Harvest Uprising of 1927 was a turning point in his life and the beginning of his respect for military solutions to the social problems he saw all around.

In Hunan, Mao witnessed first-hand the exploitation of peasants by the gentry and landlords and grew to respect the peasants' courage in carrying out armed revolts against what he termed their "class enemies." After his Hunan experience he became a life-long advocate of armed struggle and military solutions to China's intractable problems.

During the Hunan experience Mao met and joined forces with Chu The, the great military genius of the Communist movement. The two men were able to rally the peasant armies and inflict several defeats on the Guomindang. With Chu's skillful military assistance, Mao established the Kiangsi Soviet in the late 1920s. It was within this peasant-based Communist inspired social experiment that the power base for his major challenge to Chiang Kai-shek's Guomindang army was tested and implemented. Mao and Chu organized their new army according to The Three Rules of Discipline and Eight Additional Rules. The leaders also developed a workable military strategy against the vastly more numerous and better equipped Guomindang army. Their strategy, strongly evocative of Sun Tzu's classic *The Art of War*, was to become the gospel of guerrilla warfare around the world, including Ho Chih Minh's approach in the Vietnam War.

Mohandas Gandhi

The scholar Joan Bondurant suggests that perhaps the only dogma in Gandhi's philosophy was "that the only test of truth is action based on the refusal to do harm." Yet, Gandhi began life, like Mao, far removed in outlook from the philosophy and courage that would guide his adult life. Gandhi says of his own childhood:

> I was a coward. I used to be haunted by the fear of thieves, ghosts, and serpents. I did not dare to stir out of doors at night. Darkness was a terror to me. It was almost impossible for me to sleep in the dark, as I would imagine ghosts coming room one direction, thieves from another and serpents from a third. I could not therefore bear to sleep without a light in the room.
>
> Source: Eknath Easwarem, *Gandhi the Man* (Petaluma, CA: Nilgiri Press, 1978), pp. 11–12.

After taking his first genuine law assignment in South Africa in 1893, Gandhi, as the rising leader of the Indian community seeking its human rights, began to experiment with his long commitment to *ahisma* (non-violence to any living thing) and weave the concept into his emerging philosophy of *Satyagraha* (truth force).

With his formulation of *Satyagraha*, Gandhi, as early as 1896, was able to fuse his personal value of non-violence with his public and political philosophy and move on to hundreds of applications of this approach in both the Indian Nationalist movement and in his own reform program for Indian society, particularly his campaign to end untouchability.

Gandhi's and Mao's attitudes toward violence and its uses, more than any other value, separate the two men, as well as many of their millions of followers.

C. Lesson Activities (Completion time: one day)

Assign as homework the documents for this lesson (**Student Handouts 1** and **2**) or carry out a close reading of the documents in class. Although the readings are short, they will require significant analysis. As each document is discussed, the teacher should ask for comparisons not only between Gandhi and Mao, but also how each of these leader's views compares to the student's own philosophy of violence.

The following questions can serve as guides for a class discussion on the documents.

a. What axiom do Mao and Lin Piao take from Marx on the place of force to attain the desired social change?
b. What does Mao see as the relationship between armed force and revolution? What does Lin Piao see as the major reason we have wars in the twentieth century?
c. What does Mao see as the key relationship between war and imperialism? Who are the imperialists? How should China emulate their methods?
d. What does Mao mean by "contradictions" and what does he see as the best way to resolve them?
e. How does Mao justify the Hunan peasants' use of violence against the gentry and landlords?
f. Why does Mao think it is good that the peasants "create terror" in Hunan?
g. What does Mao mean by "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun?" What does he think are some good historic examples of the use of force?
h. Gandhi defines *ahisma* or non-violence in a new way. What are some of his examples of violence that go beyond physical abuse? How does Gandhi make *ahisma* into a more active force than just not physically hurting someone?
i. What does Gandhi see as the relationship between self-suffering and non-violence?
j. What does Gandhi see as the relationship of *ahisma* to courage, power and strength?
k. What are the implications of Gandhi's advice that we should use *ahisma* for our enemies as well as our friends?

Final Question or Essay Assignment

What are the major points of difference between Gandhi and Mao on the use of violence and military force? Which position comes closest to your own personal philosophy and why?

Mao Zedong Readings

Lin Piao, one of Mao's greatest military commanders and in the late 1950s minister of defense, wrote about his leader:

Reading 1—Mao on Revolution

In the last analysis, the Marxist-Leninist theory of the proletarian revolution is a theory of the seizure of state power by revolutionary violence, the theory of countering war against the people by people's war. As Marx so aptly put it, "Force is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one."

It was on the basis of the lessons derived from the people's wars in China that Comrade Mao Tse-tung, using the simplest and most vivid language, advanced the famous thesis that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." He clearly pointed out:

> The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally, for China and for all other countries.

War is the product of imperialism and the system of exploitation of man by man. Lenin said "war is always and everywhere begun by the exploiters themselves, by the ruling and oppressing classes." What should the oppressed nations and the oppressed people do? . . . Comrade Mao Tse-tung answered this question in vivid terms. He said that after long investigation and study the Chinese people had discovered that all imperialists and their lackeys "have swords in their hands and are out to kill. The people have come to understand this and so act in the same fashion." This is called doing unto them what they do unto us. . . .

In view of the fact that some people are afflicted with fear of imperialists and reactionaries, Comrade Mao Tse-tung put forward the famous thesis that "the imperialists and all reactionaries are paper tigers."

> All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful.

Source: Lin Piao "The International Significance of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's Theory of People's War," in Franz Schurmann and Orville Schell, eds., *The China Reader* (New York: Vintage, 1973), pp. 186–188.

Reading 2: Mao on War

War is the highest form of struggle for resolving contradictions, when they have developed to a certain stage, between classes, nations, states, or political groups, and it has existed ever since the emergence of private property and of classes. Unless you understand the actual circumstances of war, its nature and its relations to other things, you will not know the laws of war, or know how to direct war, or be able to win victory.

Source: Mao Zedong, "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War," December, 1936, *Selected Works I* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1964), pp. 179–82.

Reading 3: The Question of "Going too Far"

Hunan Province in 1926–27 was the center of Communist organization of the peasants, and when reports circulated that there had been a massive slaughter of landlords, Mao went on a thirty-three day inspection tour. The following is part of his "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant."

Then there is another section of the people who say, "Yes, peasant associations are fine, but they are going rather too far." This is the opinion of the middle-of-the-roaders. But what is the actual situation? True, the peasants are in a sense "unruly" in the countryside. Supreme in authority, the peasant association allows the landlord no stay but sweeps away his prestige. This amounts to striking the landlord down to the dust and keeping him there. . . .

People swarm into the houses of local tyrants and evil gentry who are against the peasant association, slaughter their pigs and consume their grain. . . . Doing whatever they like and turning everything upside down, they have created a kind of terror in the countryside. That is what some people call "going too far," or "exceeding the proper limits in righting a wrong." Such talk may seem plausible, but in fact it is wrong.

First, the local tyrants, evil gentry and lawless landlords have themselves driven peasants to this. For ages they have used their power to tyrannize over the peasants and trample them underfoot; that is why the peasants have reacted so strongly. . . .

Secondly, a revolution is not a dinner party, or writing an essay, or painting a picture, or doing embroidery; it cannot be so refined, so leisurely and gentle, so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous. A revolution is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another. A rural revolution is a revolution by which the peasantry overthrows the power of the feudal landlord class. . . .

To put it bluntly, it is necessary to create terror for a while in every rural area, otherwise it would be impossible to suppress the activities of the counterrevolutionaries in the countryside or overthrow the authority of the gentry. . . .

Source: Bruno Shaw, *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* (NY: Harper Colophon Books, 1970), pp. 12–13.

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Reading 4: "Political Power Grows out of the Barrel of a Gun"

Every Communist must understand this truth: Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun. Our principle is that the Party commands the gun; the gun shall never be allowed to command the Party. But it is also true that with the gun at our disposal we can really build up the party organizations; the Eighth Route Army has built up the Party organization in North China. We can also rear cadres and create schools, culture and mass movements. Everything in Yenan has been built up by means of the gun. Anything can grow out of the barrel of a gun. Viewed from the Marxist theory of the state, the army is the chief component of the political power of the state. Whoever wants to seize and hold on to political power must have a strong army. Some people have ridiculed us as advocates of the 'theory of the omnipotence of war': yes. We are, we are advocates of the theory of the omnipotence of revolutionary war. This is not a bad thing. With the help of guns, the Russian communists brought about socialism. We want to bring about a democratic republic. Experience in the class struggle of the era of imperialism teaches us that the working class and the toiling masses cannot defeat the armed bourgeois and landlord except by the power of the gun; in this sense we can even say that the whole world can be remoulded only with the gun. As advocates of the abolition of war, we do not desire war; but war can only be abolished through war—in order to get rid of the gun, we must first grasp it in hand.

Source: Mao's Concluding Remarks at the 6th Plenum of the Central Committee, Nov., 1938, in Stuart R. Schram, *The Political Thought of Mao Tse-tung* (New York: Praeger, 1969), p. 290–91.

Reading 5: Chairman Mao Has Given Me a Gun

(by Hsiang Yang)

Chairman Mao has given me a gun
To guard our red political power;
Clear what I love and hate, firm in my stand,
Holding my course through densest clouds and mist.

Chairman Mao has given me a gun
To guard our red political power;
The skies may fall but I shall never falter,
Determined to consolidate proletarian dictatorship.

Chairman Mao has given me a gun
To guard our red political power;
I shall support the Left, make revolution,
Ready to shed my blood or lose my head!

Chairman Mao has given me a gun
To guard our red political power;
If the enemy dare attack
They will meet their doom!

Chairman Mao has given me a gun
To guard our red political power;
All my life I shall follow Chairman Mao
To make our land impregnable for ever.

Source: Hsiang Yang, "Chairman Mao Has Given Me a Gun," in Leon Hellerman and Alan L. Stein, eds., *Readings on the Middle Kingdom* (New York: Washington Square Press, 1973), pp. 240–41.

GANDHI READINGS

Reading 1: *Ahisma*

Ahisma is usually translated as "nonviolence," but as we have seen, its meaning goes beyond that. *Ahisma* is derived from the Sanskrit verb root *han*, which means to kill. The form *hims* means "desirous to kill"; the prefix a- is a negation. So *ahisma* means literally "lacking any desire to kill," which is perhaps the central theme upon which Hindu, Jain, and Buddhist morality is built. . . . The word nonviolence connotes a negative, almost passive condition, whereas the Sanskrit term *ahisma* suggests a dynamic state of mind in which power is released. . . . Gandhi's adherence to nonviolence grew from his experience that it was the only way to resolve the problem or conflict permanently. Violence, he felt, only made the pretense of a solution, and sowed the seeds of bitterness and enmity that would ultimately disrupt the situation. . . .

Ahisma is not the crude thing it has been made to appear. Not to hurt any living thing is no doubt a part of *ahisma* . But it is its least expression. The principle of *ahisma* is hurt by every evil thought, by undue haste, by lying, by hatred, by wishing ill to anybody.

I accept the interpretation of *Ahisma* namely that it is not merely a negative state of harmlessness but it is a positive state of love, of doing good even to the evil-doer. But it does not mean helping the evil-doer to continue the wrong and tolerating it by passive acquiescence. On the contrary, love, the active state of *Ahisma*, requires you to resist the wrong-doer. . . .

My field of labour is clearly defined and it pleases me. I am fascinated by the law of love. It is the philosopher's stone for me. I know *ahisma* alone can provide a remedy for our ills. In my view the path of non-violence is not the path of the timid or the unmanly. *Ahisma* is the height of the Kshatriya's [warrior's] dharma as it represents the climax of fearlessness. In it there is no scope for flight or for defeat. Being a quality of the soul it is not difficult of attainment. It comes easily to a person who feels the presence of the soul within. I believe that no other path but that of non-violence will suit India.

Sources:

Eknath Easwaran, *Gandhi the Man* (Petaluma, CA: Nilgiri Press, 1978), pp. 153–55.

Joan Bondurant, *Conquest of Violence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), p. 24.

Mohandas Gandhi, *Collected Works*, in Stephen Hay, ed., *Sources of Indian Tradition*, vol. 2, *Modern India and Pakistan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), p. 252.

Reading 2: Touch the Heart

Up to the year 1906 I simply relied on appeal to reason. I was a very industrious reformer. . . . But I found that reason failed to produce an impression when the critical moment arrived in South Africa. My people were excited . . . and there was talk of wreaking vengeance. I had then to choose between allying myself to violence or finding out some other method of meeting the crisis and stopping the rot; and it came to me that we should refuse to obey the legislation that was degrading and let them put us in jail if they liked. Thus came into being the moral equivalent of war. . . . Since then the conviction has been growing upon me, that things of fundamental importance to the people are not secured by reason alone but have to be purchased with their suffering. Suffering is the law of human beings; war is the law of the jungle. But suffering is infinitely more powerful than the law of the jungle for converting the opponent and opening his ears, which are otherwise shut, to the voice of reasons. . . . I have come to this fundamental conclusions, that if you want something really important to be done you must not merely satisfy the reason, you must move the heart also. The appeal to reason is more to the head but the penetration of the heart comes from suffering. It opens up the inner understanding in man.

In his biography of Gandhi, Fisher quotes Gandhi as saying "If India takes up the doctrine of the sword, she may gain momentary victory, but then India will cease to be the pride of my heart." Gandhi's rejection of violence, Fisher said, was adamant to the point almost bordering on fanaticism.

Out of the experience in South Africa, Gandhi worked out the concept of *satyagraha*, "a movement intended to replace methods of violence and a movement based entirely upon truth."

Non-violence in its dynamic condition means conscious suffering. It does not mean meek submission to the will of the evil-doer, but means the pitting of one's whole soul against the will of the tyrant. Working under this law of our being, it is possible for a single individual to defy the whole might of an unjust empire. . .

Suffering injury in one's own person is . . . the essence of non-violence and is the chosen substitute for violence to others. It is not because I value life low that I can countenance with joy thousands voluntarily losing their lives for *Satyagraha*, but because I know that it results in the long run in the least loss of life, and, what is more, it ennobles those who lose their lives and morally enriches the world for their sacrifice.

Sources:

Eknath Easwaran, *Gandhi the Man* (Petaluma, CA: Nilgiri Press, 1978), pp. 161–62.

Louis Fisher, *Gandhi: His Message for the World* (New York: Penguin Books, 1982), in Joan Bondurant, *Conquest of Violence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), pp. 15, 26, 27.

Reading 3—Non-violence as Love

All society is held together by non-violence, even as the earth is held in her position by gravitation. But when the law of gravitation was discovered the discovery yielded results of which our ancestors had no knowledge. Even so when society is deliberately constructed in accordance with the law of non-violence, its structure will be different in material particulars from what it is today... What is happening today is disregard of the law of non-violence and enthronement of violence as if it were an eternal law.

Having flung aside the sword, there is nothing except the cup of love which I can offer to those who oppose me. It is by offering that cup that I expect to draw them close to me. I cannot think of permanent enmity between man and man and, believing as I do in the theory of rebirth, I live in the hope that if not in this birth, in some other birth, I shall be able to hug all humanity in a friendly embrace.

It is not non-violence if we merely love those that love us. It is non-violence only when we love those that hate us. I know how difficult it is to follow this grand law of love. But are not all great and good things difficult to do? Love of the hater is the most difficult of all.

Non-violence is the weapon of the strong. With the weak it might easily be hypocrisy. Fear and love are contradictory terms. Love is reckless in giving away, oblivious as to what it gets in return. Love wrestles with the world as with the self and ultimately gains a mastery over all other feelings.

Source: Mahatma Gandhi, *Collected Works*, in Stephen Hay, ed., *Sources of Indian Tradition.* vol 2, *Modern India and Pakistan* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), pp. 252–55.

Lesson II: Applying Mao's and Gandhi's Attitudes toward Violence as a Means of Effecting Social Change

A. Objectives

- To investigate what Gandhi meant by *satyagraha*.
- To review the methods of protest Gandhi's developed for his *satyagraha* campaigns.
- To examine the various methods of revolutionary activity which Mao employed.
- To compare the methods Mao and Gandhi employed to achieve their ends.

B. Historical Background Information for Teachers

Those, like Gandhi and Mao, who seek to reform the social order generally assume one of three positions on how best to do it. The liberal tradition, which informs American culture, assumes that the social system is already a good one if it allows for maximum freedom for each individual to move in the social order to find the place that reflects his or her maximum talents and effort. Reforms for liberalism generally entail laws and legislation to increase the participation of all peoples such as women, minorities, and people without property. The Marxist-Leninist tradition, out of which Mao comes, alleges that the capitalist system as a social structure is inherently unjust and that it exploits workers and peasants so that the capitalist owners can most benefit. In this view the capitalist system as a social structure must be destroyed and a new economic system based on equality be built. The third approach, which is the Gandhian approach and grows out of millennia of religious and philosophic traditions, such as Jainism, Buddhism and Hinduism, argues the individual person must change his consciousness and that the transformed individual then becomes the basis for all subsequent social change.

On the surface both Gandhi and Mao shared similar attitudes toward capitalism and the need to better the living conditions for the peasants and workers. There are significant differences, however, between Mao's goal to destroy the capitalist system and replace it with socialism and Gandhi's goal of changing the consciousness of those who exploit as well as teaching those who are exploited to maintain a love and respect for the humans who are exploiting. It is true that Mao also sought to change human consciousness, but he championed methods that would bring down the existing capitalist structure through revolutionary violence. After the revolution, Mao argued, the landlords and capitalists could be re-socialized so that they would realize the errors of their ways and then become, along with the peasants and workers, "new socialist men." Gandhi's emphasis was on changing the way both capitalists and the rest of society thought. Once people had changed their way of thinking, they would naturally make the necessary reforms in society.

After taking his first genuine law assignment in South Africa in 1893, Gandhi, the rising leader of the Indian community seeking its human rights, began to experiment with his long commitment to *ahisma* (non-violence to any living thing.) Out of his experience in South Africa, he worked out the concept of *satyagraha*, a movement intended to replace methods of violence and a movement based entirely upon truth. With his formulation of *satyagraha*, he was able to fuse his personal value of non-violence with his public and political philosophy and move on to hundreds of applications of this approach in both the Indian Nationalist movement and in his own reform program for Indian society.

Mao advocated a "national revolution" and called on the people to build a new nation. For him, the revolutionary war was a war of the masses; it could be waged only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them. He favored guerrilla tactics that relied on surprise and deception, and he drew inspiration from Chinese protest literature such as *Romance of Three Kingdoms* and the *Water Margin*. He also appears to have liberally adapted Sun Tzu's famous treatise *The Art of War* although he claimed he only briefly glanced at the work. Perhaps most importantly, Mao defined "Democratic Dictatorship" in much the same way as the traditional emperor system did with a strong ruler speaking for the will of the people.

Any examination and comparison of Mao and Gandhi's strategies, tactics, and mobilizations of followers must be informed by an understanding of their views of ends and means. In Mao's system, means (strategies, tactics, etc.) tended to justify the ends (ultimate vision for the society and world) he hoped for. In Gandhi's system there was no distinction between means and ends. Both Mao and Gandhi were dialectical thinkers in that they encouraged the confrontation between two sets of values and hoped to resolve the conflict by achieving some type of synthesis. However, while Mao was willing to use force and violence to gain the attention of the class in power, Gandhi insisted that human compassion must control all means used to achieve a change in any given situation. Therefore, Gandhi's philosophy was as much about means as it was about ends. Transformation of the self, according to Gandhi, involved living every moment according to the transcendent values, especially *ahisma*, that infused the philosophy. For Gandhi means were inseparable from the ends he sought.

In the application of these distinctions between Mao and Gandhi the differences in their view of ends and means becomes vividly clear. For Gandhi, the ends must never be to kill those who oppose you; Mao counseled the use of all means necessary to accomplish his revolutionary goals. Hence, Gandhi often called off mass protest campaigns, such as the 1920 Non-Cooperation Movement, because his followers stooped to violence. Mao, on the other hand, tended to follow more practical criteria. He was willing to form coalitions with the Guomindang if necessary, approve of village trials where poor peasants executed landlords on the spot, or attack the enemy if he had the power and retreat if he didn't.

C. Teaching Activities (Completion Time: 1 or 2 days)

Part 1—Reading Assignment

Assign the students to read **Student Handouts 3** and **4**. You may elect to assign various students to read one or more of the readings and report to the class

Part 2—Class Activity: Close Readings and General Discussion

1. Do a close reading of "Inventing *Satyagraha*" (**Student Handout 3**) and "Aspects of *Satyragraha*" (**Student Handout 4**) to be sure the students understand what Gandhi meant by this term. How is it different from "passive resistance?" What is the ultimate goal of a *satyagrahi*? What must his or her attitude be toward his or her opponents? What are the various components of *satyagraha*?

2. Do you see any contradiction between how Gandhi was defining *satyagraha* (**Student Handouts 5** and **6**, "Instruction to *Satyagrahis*" and "Non-cooperation in Action.") Do you see any contradiction between how Gandhi was defining *satyagraha* and the instructions he gave the *Satyagrahis*? If so what are they?

3. Imagine a friend or acquaintance was doing something you felt was wrong. What kind of noncooperation might you engage in to try and change his or her mind?

4. Have students read **Student Handouts 7** and **8**. Imagine you are a peasant. How might you react if a battalion of soldiers came through your village? What might you be afraid of? In what ways would Mao's directives to his troops ally your fears? What else would make you feel that the army was working for you?

5. Do you see any contradiction between Mao's reaction to how the peasants were acting in Hunan and what he instructed the Red Army to do? If so, what are they?

6. The last five qualities Mao cites (in his argument that revolution is not a dinner party—**Student Handout 1, Reading #3**)—temperance, kindness, courtesy, restraint, magnanimity come directly from Confucius. Based on this reading, what seems to be Mao's attitude toward Confucian values?

7. What would happen to your opponents were you to follow Gandhi's ideas? Were you to follow Mao's strategies?

8. Imagine that as a class you wanted to follow Mao's ideas in order to change something in the school you feel is wrong. What actions would you take? How effective do you think Mao's ideas would be?

9. Imagine that as a class you wanted to follow Gandhi's idea of *satyagraha* to change something in the school you felt was wrong. What actions would you take? How effective do you think Gandhi's idea of *satyagraha* would be?

INVENTING *SATYAGRAHA*

None of us knew the name to give to our movement. I then used the term 'passive resistance' in describing it. As the struggle advanced, the phrase 'passive resistance' gave rise to confusion and it appeared shameful to permit this great struggle to be known only by an English name. . . . A small prize was therefore announced in *Indian Opinion* [newspaper] to be awarded to the reader who invented the best designation for our struggle. . . [One person suggested] "*sadagraha*," meaning "firmness in a good cause." I liked the word but it did not fully represent the whole idea I wished to connote. I therefore corrected it to "*satyagraha*." Truth (Satya) implies love and firmness (Agraha) engenders and therefore serves as a synonym for force. I thus began to call the Indian movement "*Satyagraha*," that is to say, the Force which is born of Truth and Love or non-violence.

Source: Homer Jack, *The Gandhi Reader: A Sourcebook of his Life and Writings* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1956), pp. 65–6.

Aspects of *Satyagraha*

Reading 1

Non-cooperation and Civil Disobedience are but different branches of the same tree called *Satyagraha*. . . . Civil Disobedience is civil breach of unmoral statutory enactments. The expression was, so far as I am aware, coined by Thoreau to signify his own resistance to the laws of slave states . . . . [But probably] Thoreau limited his breach of statutory laws to the revenue laws, i.e. payment of taxes. Whereas the term Civil Disobedience . . . covered a breach of any statutory and unmoral law. It signified the register's outlawry in a civil i.e. non-violent manner. He invoked the sanctions of the law and cheerfully suffered imprisonment. It is a branch of *Satyagraha*.

Reading 2

Non-cooperation predominately implies withdrawing cooperation from the State that in the non-cooperator's view has become corrupt . . . By its very nature, Non-cooperation is even open to children of understanding and can be safely practiced by the masses. Civil Disobedience presupposes the habit of willing obedience to laws without fear of their sanctions. It can therefore be practiced only as a last resort and by a select few, in the first instance at any rate. Non-cooperation, too, like Civil Disobedience, is a branch of *Satyagraha*, which includes all non-violent resistance for the vindication of Truth.

Readings 1 and 2: *Young India*, 1921. Source: Mahatma K. Gandhi, *The Science of Satyagraha* (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1967), pp. 35–36.

Reading 3

What does a son do when he objects to some action of his father? He requests the father to desist from the objectionable course, i.e. presents respectful petitions. If the father does not agree in site of repeated prayers, he non cooperates with him to the extent even of leaving the paternal roof This is pure justice. Where father and son are uncivilized, they quarrel, abuse each other and often even come to blows. An obedient son is ever modest, ever peaceful and ever loving. It is only his love which on due occasion compels him to non-cooperate. The father himself understands this loving non-cooperation. He cannot endure abandonment by or separation from the son, is distressed at heart and repents. Not that it always happens thus. But the son's duty of non-cooperation is clear.

A little reflection will show that Civil Disobedience is a necessary part of Non-Cooperation. You assist an administration most effectively by obeying its orders and decrees. An evil administration never deserves such allegiance. A good man will, therefore, resist an evil system or administration with his whole soul. Disobedience of the laws of an evil State is, therefore, a duty. Violent disobedience deals with men who can be replaced. It leaves the evil itself untouched, and often accentuates it. Non-violent, i.e. civil, disobedience is the only and most successful remedy and is obligatory upon him who would dissociate himself from evil.

Mahatma K. Gandhi, *The Science of Satyagraha* (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1967) pp. 43, 60.

INSTRUCTION TO SATYAGRAHIS

The following is a summary of the instruction Gandhi gave to those who would become involved in a *satyagraha* campaign.

1. Harbor no anger but suffer the anger of the opponent. Refuse to return the assaults of the opponent.

2. Do not submit to any order given in anger, even though severe punishment is threatened for disobeying.

3. Refrain from insults and swearing.

4. Protect the opponents from insult or attack, even at the risk of life.

5. Do not resist arrest nor the attachment of property, unless holding property as a trustee.

6. Refuse to surrender any property held in trust at the risk of life.

7. If taken prisoner, behave in an exemplary manner.

8. As a member of a *satyagraha* unit, obey the orders of *satyagraha* leaders, and resign from the unit in the event of serious disagreement.

9. Do not expect guarantees for maintenance of dependents.

Steps in a *Satyagraha* campaign:

1. **Negotiation and arbitration**. Every effort to resolve the conflict or redress the grievance through established channels must be exhausted before further steps are undertaken.

2. **Preparation of the group for direct action**. Immediately upon recognition of a conflict situation which might lead to direct action, motives are to be carefully examined, exercises in self-discipline initiated, and the fullest discussions launched with the group regarding issues at state, appropriate procedures to be taken, the circumstances of the opponents, the climate of public opinion, etc. This step often included, for Indian *satyagrahis*, purificatory fasting.

3. **Agitation**. This step includes an active propaganda campaign together with such demonstrations as mass-meetings, parades, slogan-shouting.

4. **Issuing an ultimatum**. A final strong appeal to the opponent should be made explaining what further steps will be taken if no agreement can be reached. The wording and manner of presentation of the ultimatum should offer the widest scope for agreement, allowing for face-saving on the part of the opponent, and should present a constructive solution to the problem.

5. **Economic boycott and forms of strike**. Picketing may be widely employed, together with continued demonstrations and education of the public. Sitting *dharna* (a form of sit-down strike) may be employed, as well as non-violent labor strike, and attempts to organize a general strike.

6. **Non-cooperation**. Depending upon the nature of the issues at stake, such action as non-payment of taxes, boycott of schools and other public institutions, ostracism, or even voluntary exile may be initiated.

7. **Civil Disobedience**. Great care should be exercised in the selection of laws to be contravened. Such laws should be either central to the grievance or symbolic.

8. **Usurping the functions of the government**. . . . Fullest preparations are necessary to make this step effective.

9. **Parallel Government**. The establishment of parallel functions should grow out of step (8), and these should be strengthened in such a way that the greatest possible cooperation from the public can be attained.

Source: Joan Bondurant, *Conquest of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict* Copyright © 1958 by Princeton University Press. Reprinted by permission of Princeton University Press.

NON-COOPERATION IN ACTION

A condition approaching famine had arisen in the Kheda district owing to a widespread failure of crops, and the Patidars of Kheda were considering the question of getting the revenue assessment for the year suspended. . . . The cultivators' demand was as clear as daylight, and so moderate as to make out a strong case for its acceptance. Under the Land Revenue Rules, if the crop was four annas or under, the cultivators could claim full suspension of the revenue assessment for the year. . . . [The government said the crop was over four annas, the farmers said it was under four annas.]

[When] all petitioning and prayer having failed, after taking counsel with co-workers, I advised the Patidars (group of farmers) to resort to *Satyagraha*.

The following pledge was signed by all Satyagrahis:

> Knowing that the crops of our villages are less than four annas, we requested the Government to suspend the collection of revenue assessment till the ensuing year, but the Government has not acceded to our prayer. Therefore, we, the undersigned, hereby solemnly declare that we shall not, of our own accord, pay to the Government the full or the remaining revenue for the year. We shall let the Government take whatever legal steps it may think fit and gladly suffer the consequences of our non-payment. We shall rather let our lands be forfeited than that by voluntary payment we should allow our case to be considered false or should compromise our self-respect. Should the Government, however, agree to suspend collection of the second installment of the assessment throughout the district, such amongst us as are in a position to pay will pay up the whole or the balance of the revenue that may be due. The reason why those who are able to pay still withhold payment is that, if they pay up, the poorer ryots (farmers) may in a panic sell their chattels or incur debts to pay their dues, and thereby bring suffering upon themselves. In these circumstances we feel that, for the sake of the poor, it is the duty even of those who can afford to pay to withhold payment of their assessment.

For the Patidar farmers, too, the fight was quite a new thing. We had, therefore, to go about from village to village explaining the principles of *Satyagraha*.

The main thing was to rid the agriculturists of their fear by making them realize that the officials were not the masters but the servants of the people, inasmuch as they received their salaries from the taxpayer. And then it seemed will nigh impossible to make them realize the duty of combining civility with fearlessness. Once they had shed the fear of officials, how could they be stopped from returning their insults? And yet if they resorted to incivility it would spoil their *Satyagraha*, like a drop of arsenic in milk.

. . . In the initial stages, though the people exhibited much courage, the Government did not seem inclined to take strong action. But as the people's firmness showed no signs of wavering, the

Government began coercion. The attachment officers sold people's cattle and seized whatever movables they could lay hands on. Penalty notices were served, and in some cases standing crops were attached. This unnerved the peasants, some of whom paid up their dues, while others desired to place safe movables in the way of the officials so that they might attach them to realize the dues. On the other hand some were prepared to fight to the bitter end.

Source: Mohandas K. Gandhi, *Gandhi An Autobiography. The Story of My Experiments with Truth* (Beacon Press: Boston, 1957), pp. 434–37.

HITTING THE LANDLORDS POLITICALLY

In the *Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan*, among the 14 achievements made by the peasant associations, Mao included "Hitting the landlords politically" in order to smash their political prestige and power.

Checking the Accounts . . .

Imposing fines . . .

Levying contributions. The unscrupulous rich landlords are made to contribute for poor relief, for the organization of cooperatives or peasant credit societies, or for other purposes. . . .

Minor protests . . . when the offense is a minor one . . . he is usually let off after writing a pledge to "cease and desist".

Major demonstrations. A big crowd is rallied to demonstrate against a local tyrant or one of the evil gentry who is an enemy of the association. The demonstrators cat at the offender's house, slaughtering his pigs and consuming his grain as a matter of course. . . .

"Crowning" the landlords and parading them through the villages. This sort of thing is very common. A tall paper hat is struck on the head of one of the local tyrants or evil gentry, bearing the words "Local tyrant So-and-so." He is led by a rope, brass gongs are beaten and flags are waved to attract people's attention. This form of punishment makes the local tyrants and evil gentry tremble. . . .

Locking up the landlord in the country jail.

"*Banishment.*" The peasants have no desire to banish the most notorious criminals among the local tyrants and evil gentry, but would rather arrest or execute them. Afraid of being arrested or executed, they run away. . . . and this amounts to banishment. . . .

Execution. This is confined to the worst local tyrants and evil gentry and is carried out by the peasants jointly with other sections of the people . . . The execution of one big landlord reverberates though a whole country and is very effective in eradicating the remaining evils of feudalism. . . . The head of the defense corps in the town of Hsinkang was personally responsible for killing almost 1,000 poverty-stricken peasants, which he euphemistically described as "executing bandits."

Source: Adapted from Mao Tse-tung, *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, abridged by Bruno Shaw (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), pp. 15–16.

MAO TSE-TUNG: INSTRUCTIONS TO THE ARMY

In 1927 Mao introduced a series of guerrilla slogans which the Red Army soldiers recited all during their struggle for power. The first version had three rules and six injunctions:

- Obey orders at all times.
- Do not take even a needle or a piece of thread from the people.
- Turn in all confiscated property to headquarters.
- Engage in propaganda wherever you go—spread the revolutionary policy far and wide.
- Respect and protect public property—do not waste the wealth of the revolution.
- Adopt a courteous attitude when talking with anybody—we should never loose our temper or quarrel with anyone.
- Pay a reasonable price for everything bought—never lower than the market price.
- Return furniture borrowed from the people once it is finished with—do not let it be lost, but let the borrower return it in person.
- If a piece of furniture is damaged in use, the owners should be paid compensation.

In time, a pithier version of the injunctions was issued:

- Replace all doors when you leave a house, and return the straw matting.
- Be courteous to the people, and help them when you can.
- Return all borrowed articles and replace all damaged goods.
- Be honest in all transactions with the peasants.
- Be sanitary—dig latrines at a safe distance from homes and fill them up with earth before leaving.
- Don't damage crops.
- Don't molest women.
- Never ill-treat prisoners of war.

Source: Robert Payne, *Mao Tse-Tung* (New York: Weybright and Talley, 1969), p. 104–5.

Lesson III: The Salt March and the Long March

A. Objectives

- To understand why Gandhi undertook the Salt March and broke the British ban on making salt from seawater.
- To understand why Mao and his Red Army undertook the Long March and why some soldiers survived.
- To compare the motivation for, strategies during, and results of these two events.
- To evaluate the predicted long-term significance of these two events and speculate whether that has been so.

B. Historical Background Information for Teachers

In the early 1930s both Mao and Gandhi had the opportunity to test their philosophies and methods of resistance by leading mass movements against their respective oppositions, the Guomindang in China and the British in India. Each of these dramatic events not only crystallized their leadership and world view, but served as kind of symbolic and almost mythological touch stone for each leader's subsequent efforts to shape his nationalist movement as well as his program for social reform.

Mao's success in organizing peasant movements in Kiangsi motivated Chiang Kai-shek to attempt to put an end to the communist party stronghold. Beginning in 1931, Chiang launched the first of five military campaigns designed to surround and defeat the Kiangsi forces. In the first three engagements, Mao was able to defeat the Guomindang armies and to capture valuable weapons and ammunition. During this period, Zhou Enlai, one of the three major leaders of the Communist revolution, came to Kiangsi and took over as field commander of the Communist base. Under Zhou the Kiangsi army was able to repel the fourth Guomindang attack in 1933 as members of the communist party left Shanghai to join the Mao inspired Kiangsi soviet. However, in August 1933, Chiang Kai-shek launched an all out offensive mobilizing a million men against the communist forces.

Despite some major defections in Chiang's army, the Guomindang was able in 1934 to push the Communist army to the brink of defeat. However, in late summer several of the communist units were able to break through the Guomindang lines and begin the famous "Long March" to Hunan province. In January 1935 the beleaguered Communist army arrived in Yunnan to begin the formidable task of building a new Kiangsi-style base of power. By October, 1934, after four earlier "encirclement" campaigns launched by the Guomindang against Mao's major power base

in Kiangsi, the Red army was nearly defeated. However, a hundred thousand Communist soldiers broke through Chiang Kai-shek's lines and commenced a 6,000 mile march to Yenen where they hoped to join another of the Red Armies in an area where the local peasants were sympathetic to the Communist cause.

Some 20,000 wounded veterans of the five encirclement campaigns in Kiangsi were left in the care of villagers. Breaking into small bands of guerrillas, the Red Army, relentlessly pursued by Chiang's armies, made their way over thousands of miles of mountains and other inhospitable terrain to Yenen in northern China.

During the "Long March" the various divisions of the Red Army endured not only the attacks of warlords, hostile ethnic minorities, bandits and the pursuing Guomindang army, but high altitudes, snow blizzards, torrential rains, the infamous "Grasslands," where they had to sleep standing up, and constant sickness and lack of food. On the way they crossed 24 rivers and 18 mountain ranges. Those who survived the march and arrived at Yenen numbered only about 20,000. Four-fifths of the army had perished along the way. Yet from this small band of survivors, Mao was able to build a new base founded in no small extent on the great legend of the Long March.

Gandhi intended his Salt March to be the focal point of his 1930s Civil Disobedience campaign. He conceptualized the march in an atmosphere of growing violence all over India. Police officers were being assassinated, labor strikes often turned violent, and Subhas Chandra Bose, the charismatic nationalist leader, was counseling violent political action and telling his mostly young followers, "Give me blood and I promise you freedom."

Despite the new British Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald's sympathy with moving India toward some independent status, the Indian nationalist hopes were dashed when the British parliament failed to support MacDonald's position. The British reversal only spawned more unrest and violence among Indian nationalists. People all over India waited to see what Gandhi would do. "Nothing, but organized nonviolence" Gandhi wrote to the Viceroy, "can check the organized violence of the British Government." Gandhi further explained that if the British decided not to move forward with basic reforms and take steps toward India's freedom, he would lead a march from his ashram to the sea, a distance of 241 miles, and deliberately make salt from ocean water in direct defiance of the laws granting the British government a monopoly on salt manufacture.

On March 12, 1930, Gandhi, true to his word, set out with seventy-eight members of his ashram, whose names were given to the police in advance, for the twenty-four day march to the sea. During the march, which covered about 12–15 miles each day, Gandhi spun for an hour each morning and faithfully kept his diary. As the marchers progressed, they stopped two or three times a day for meetings with villagers along the way. Gandhi urged the villagers to spin, stay away from drink and drugs, boycott child marriages, and to try to live more purely.

On April 5th, the day they reached the sea at Dandi, the marchers, whose ranks had now swollen to the thousands, stayed up all night and prayed. As the sun rose the next day, Gandhi led a small band of followers into the water as he picked up a pinch of salt washed onto the beach by the waves.

Following Gandhi's deliberate violation of a British law, hundreds of thousands of people all over India walked into the various bodies of water and proceeded to make salt also. The British arrested thousands, including Gandhi himself. In Bombay the Congress Party leaders made salt on the roof of their office and when arrested a crowed of some 60,000 gathered to protest their jailing. Altogether the British sent between 50 and 75 thousand nationalist protesters to jail.

Following Gandhi's arrest, another contingent of his followers was assigned to march on the Dharsana Salt Works, 150 miles from Bombay. This time Sarojini Naidu, the poetess, affectionately called the Indian nightingale, led the 2,500 marchers. They carefully followed Gandhi's instructions not to resist, fight back, or even "raise a hand or ward off a blow" from the police.

The Salt March galvanized mass support for the Indian nationalist movement and gave the people the realization that they could indeed face down the British and ultimately gain their independence. The march also moved Gandhi to the height of his political influence. From then on he remained the undisputed leader of the nationalist movement and the "father of the country."

C. Lesson Activities (Completion time: one day)

1. Share the **Historical Background Information for Teachers** on the Long March and the Salt March with the class, or assign students to do a little background reading in their textbook or other sources on the two marches. Then compare the reasons Mao and Gandhi took these marches. What did they hope to accomplish?

2. Read the Letter to Lord Irwin (**Student Handout 9**) and discuss why Gandhi told Lord Irwin what he planned to do. In what way is this action consistent with Gandhi's philosophy of *satyagraha* (**Lesson II**)? Why was secrecy so important to Mao and his soldiers?

3. Read the eyewitness accounts from the Salt March and the report on what one soldier on the Long March could do (**Student Handouts 10** and **11**). What are the main differences in the attitudes the Chinese and Indians had toward their enemies?

4. What were the major immediate effects of each march? Were these the outcomes the leaders had hope for? What have been the long-term legacies of each march?

5. How does each experience reflect the values and philosophy of the two leaders?

6. Make overheard transparencies of the maps (**Student Handouts 12** and **13**) of the two marches. Determine the distances and terrain the Red Army and Gandhi's *satyagrahis* traveled.

7. Divide the class in half and have one-half imagine they went on Mao's march and one-half imagine they went on Gandhi's march. Have them hold conversations or be interviewed on a "talk show" where the teacher acts as host. Or, conduct a press conference about their experiences and how each march compared, with the teacher and a few upper class members serving as the press corps.

8. Conduct research and write an essay on how one of the marches served as inspiration, legend and model for later nationalist activities in either India or China.

Letter to Lord Irwin Announcing the Salt March

March 2, 1930

Dear Friend,

Before embarking on civil disobedience and taking the risk I have dreaded to take all these years, I would fain approach you and find a way out. . . . Whilst, therefore, I hold the British rule to be a curse, I do not intend harm to a single Englishman or to any legitimate interest he may have in India. . . . And why do I regard the British rule as a curse?

It has impoverished the dumb millions by a system of progressive exploitation and by a ruinously expensive military and civil administration which the country can never afford.

It has reduced us politically to serfdom. It has sapped the foundation of our culture. And, by the policy of cruel disarmament, it has degraded us spiritually. Lacking the inward strength, we have been reduced, by all but universal disarmament, to a state bordering on cowardly helplessness. . . .

. . . the British system seems to be designed to crush the very life out of him [the Indian farmer]. Even the salt he must use to live on is so taxed as to make the burden fall heaviest on him. . . . The drink and drug revenue, too, is derived from the poor. . . . If the weight of taxation has crushed the poor from above, the destruction of the central supplementary industry, i.e., hand-spinning, has undermined their capacity for producing wealth. . . .

The iniquities sampled above are maintained in order to carry on a foreign administration, demonstrably the most expensive in the world. Take your own salary. It is over Rs. 21,000 per month. . . . You are getting over Rs. 7000 per day against India's average income of less than annas 2 per day . . . Thus you are getting more than five thousand times India's average income.

The plan through civil disobedience will be to combat such evils as I have sampled out . . . if you cannot see your way to deal with these evils and my letter makes no appeal to your heart, on the 11th day of this month [March, 1930,] I shall proceed with such co-workers of the Ashram as I can take, to disregard the provisions of the salt laws. I regard this tax to be the most iniquitous of all from the poor man's standpoint. As the independence movement is essentially for the poorest in the land the beginning will be made with this evil. . . .

Source: Martin Green, *Gandhi in India in his Own Words* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1987), pp. 113–18.

Readings on the Salt March

Reading 1

The sheds were literally swarming and buzzed like a beehive with some 2,500 Congress of Gandhi men dressed in the regulation uniform of rough homespun cotton dhotis and triangular Gandhi caps [ready to break the salt law]. . . .

Mme. Naidu called for prayer before the march started, and the entire assemblage knelt. She exhorted them: "Gandhi's body is in jail but his soul is with you. India's prestige is in your hands. You must not use any violence under any circumstances. You will be beaten but you must not resist; you must not even raise a hand to ward off blows." Wild, shrill cheers terminated her speech.

Slowly and in silence the throng commenced the . . . march to the salt deposits. A few carried ropes for lassoing the barbed-wire stockade around the salt pans. About a score who were assigned to act as stretcher-bearers wore crude, hand-painted red crosses pinned to their breasts; their stretchers consisted of blankets. Manilal Gandhi, second son of Gandhi, walked among the foremost of the marchers. As the throng drew near the salt pans they commenced chanting the revolutionary slogan, "Inquilab sindabad" [long live freedom], intoning the two words over and over. The salt deposits were surrounded by ditches filled with water and guarded by 400 native Surat police in khaki shorts and brown turbans. Half a dozen British officials commanded them. The police carried *lathis*—five foot clubs topped with steel. Inside the stockade twenty-five native riflemen were drawn up.

In complete silence the Gandhi men drew up and halted a hundred yards from the stockade. A picked column advanced from the crowd, waded the ditches, and approached the barbed-wire stockade, which the Surat police surrounded, holding their clubs at the ready. Police officials ordered the marchers to disperse under a recently imposed regulation which prohibited gatherings of more than five persons in any one place. The column silently ignored the warning and slowly walked forward. . . .

Suddenly, at a word of command, scores of native police rushed upon the advancing marchers and rained blows on their heads with their steel-shod lathis. Not one of the marchers even raised an arm to fend off the blows. They went down like tenpins. From where I stood I heard the sickening whacks of the clubs on unprotected skulls. The waiting crowd of watchers groaned and sucked in their breaths in sympathetic pain at every blow.

Those stuck down fell sprawling, unconscious or writing in pain with fractured skulls or broken shoulders. In two or three minutes, the ground was littered with bodies. Great patches of blood widened on their white clothes. The survivors without breaking ranks silently and doggedly marched on until struck down. When everyone in the first column had been knocked down

stretcher-bearers rushed up unmolested by the police and carried off the injured to a thatched hut which had been arranged as a temporary hospital.

Then another column formed while the leaders pleaded with them to retain their self-control. They marched slowly toward the police. Although everyone knew that within a few minutes he would be beaten down, perhaps killed, I could detect no signs of wavering or fear. They marched steadily with heads up, without the encouragement of music or cheering or any possibility that they might escape serious injury or death. The police rushed out and methodically and mechanically beat down the second column. There was no fight, no struggle; the marchers simply walked forward until struck down. There were no outcries, only groans after they fell. There were not enough stretcher-bearers to carry off the wounded; I saw eighteen injured being carried off simultaneously, whole forty-two still lay bleeding on the ground awaiting stretcher-bearers. The blankets used as stretchers were sodden with blood. . . .

Finally the police became enraged by the non-resistance, sharing, I suppose, the helpless rage I had already felt at the demonstrators for not fighting back. They commenced savagely kicking the seated men in the abdomen and testicles. The injured men writhed and squealed in agony, which seemed to inflame the fury of the police, and the crowd again almost broke away from their leaders. The police then began dragging the sitting men by the arms or feet, sometimes for a hundred yards, and throwing them into ditches. One was dragged to the ditch where I stood; the splash of his body doused me with muddy water. Another policeman dragged a Gandhi man to the ditch, threw him in, then belabored him over the head with his lathi. Hour after hour stretcher-bearers carried back a stream of inert, bleeding bodies.

Source: Krishnalal Sridharani, "The Mahatma and the World," in Donald and Jean Johnson, *Through Indian Eyes* (New York: Cite Publications, 1992), pp. 209–10.

Reading 2: The Salt March

One of the bravest things I have ever seen was the way those Hindus marched out on the field and grouped themselves in little knots. Hindus hate physical pain, but they knew what they were in for that day. Some of them quite confidently believed that they would soon be dead. In each group the Indian women, in their orange robes of sacrifice, made a thin ring around the men. They would have to be hit first...

In a few seconds that field was a shambles of reeling, bleeding men; . . . women shrieking and tearing at the policemen's clothes . . . throwing themselves before the swishing lathis...

The Sikh leader was like that statue of the gladiator in Rome; a Herculean man, with his beard tied to his ears. He was being struck on the head. I stood about six feet from him and watched. He was hit until his turban came undone and his topknot was exposed. A few more blows and his hair came undone and fell down over his face. A few more and blood began to drip off his dangling black hair. He stood there with his hands at his sides. Then a particularly heavy blow and he fell forward on his face.

I could hardly hold myself back. I wanted to grab that white sergeant's lathi. I stood next to him; he was so sweaty from his exertions. . . . I watched him with my heart in my mouth. He drew back his arm for a final swing . . . and he dropped his hands down by his side.

"It's no use," he said, turning to me with half an apologetic grin. "You can't hit a bugger when he stands up to you like that."

He gave the Sikh a mock salute and walked off.

Source: Web Miller, "I found No Peace," in Donald J. and Jean E. Johnson, eds., *Through Indian Eyes* (New York: CITE Publications, 1992), pp. 210–11.

Reading 3: The Governor of Bombay's cable to Lord Irwin, Viceroy of India; Viceroy's forwarding to Secretary of Sate for India in London

Hope entertained in many quarters that movement will be discredited must be abandoned. On the contrary, individuals and bodies of men hitherto regarded as sane and reasonable are day by day joining movement . . . because belief that British connection is morally indefensible and economically intolerable is gaining strength among educated Hindus. . . .

Source: Viceroy to Secretary of State, April 28, 1930, in Dennis Dalton, *Mahatma Gandhi: Nonviolent Power in Action* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), p. 117.

Readings on the Long March

Reading 1

The communists had a firm belief in the power of one man to win a battle. They sent a single soldier over at night after they had silenced the enemy guns with mortars. The solitary swimmer managed to capture one of the boats hidden against the shore, and this single boat was afterward sent backward and forward across the river crammed with Red soldiers until a beachhead was established. Later all the boats were captured. The Guomindang forces, who had not expected the Communists to turn back and attack the shore they had just left, were routed by a surprise maneuver—one which looked ludicrously simple when P'eng The-huai drew a map of the small campaign for me in the dusty loess soil outside his cave. It was by such ruses that they won their battles; and more and more they were forced to regard themselves as guerrilla forces, dedicated to ruses, to the endless game of cunning and surprise.

Source: Robert Payne, *Mao Tse-tung* (New York: Weybright and Talley, 1969) pp. 149, 152.

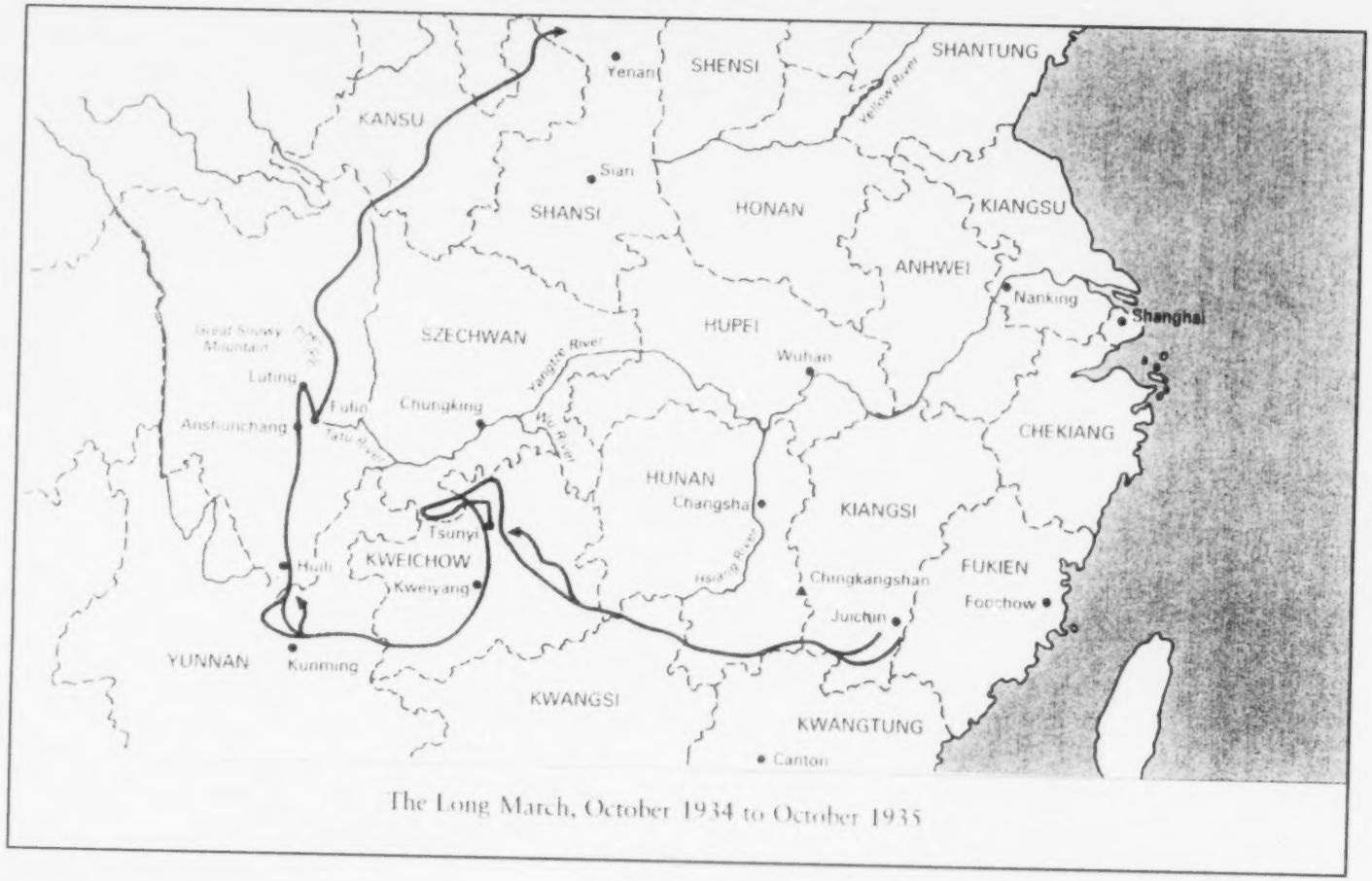
Reading 2

Speaking of the Long March, one may ask, What is its significance? We answer that the Long March is the first of its kind in the annals of history, that it is a manifesto, a propaganda force, a seeding machine. Since Pan Ku divided the heavens from the earth and the Three Sovereigns and Five Emperors reigned, has history ever witnessed a Long March such as ours? . . .

We were encircled and pursued, obstructed and intercepted by a huge force of several hundred thousand men; yet by using our two legs we swept across a distance of more than 20,000 li [6,000 miles] through the length and breadth of eleven provinces. . . . Well, has there ever been in history a long march like ours? No, never. The Long March is also a manifesto. It proclaims to the world that the Red Army is an army of heroes and that the imperialists and their jackals, Chiang Kai-shek and his like, are perfect nonentities. It announces the bankruptcy of the encirclement, pursuit, obstruction and interception attempted by the imperialists and Chiang Kai-shek. The Long March is also an agitation corps. It declares to the approximately two hundred million people of the eleven provinces that only the road of the Red Army leads to their liberation. Without the Long March, how could the masses have known so quickly that there are such great ideas in the world as are upheld by the Red Army? The Long March is also a seeding-machine. It has sown many seeds which will sprout, grow leaves, blossom into flowers, bear fruit and yield a crop in future. Without the Communist Party, a Long March of this kind would have been inconceivable. The Chinese Communist Party, its leadership, its cadres and its members fear no difficulties or hardships. . . . To sum up, the Long March ended with our victory and the enemy's defeat.

Sources: "On Tactics Against Japanese Imperialism" Dec 27, 1935, in Jerome Ch'en, *Mao and the Chinese Revolution* (London: Oxford University Press), pp. 199–200.

Bruno Shaw, *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1970), pp. 53–54.



The Long March, October 1934 to October 1935

The Long March

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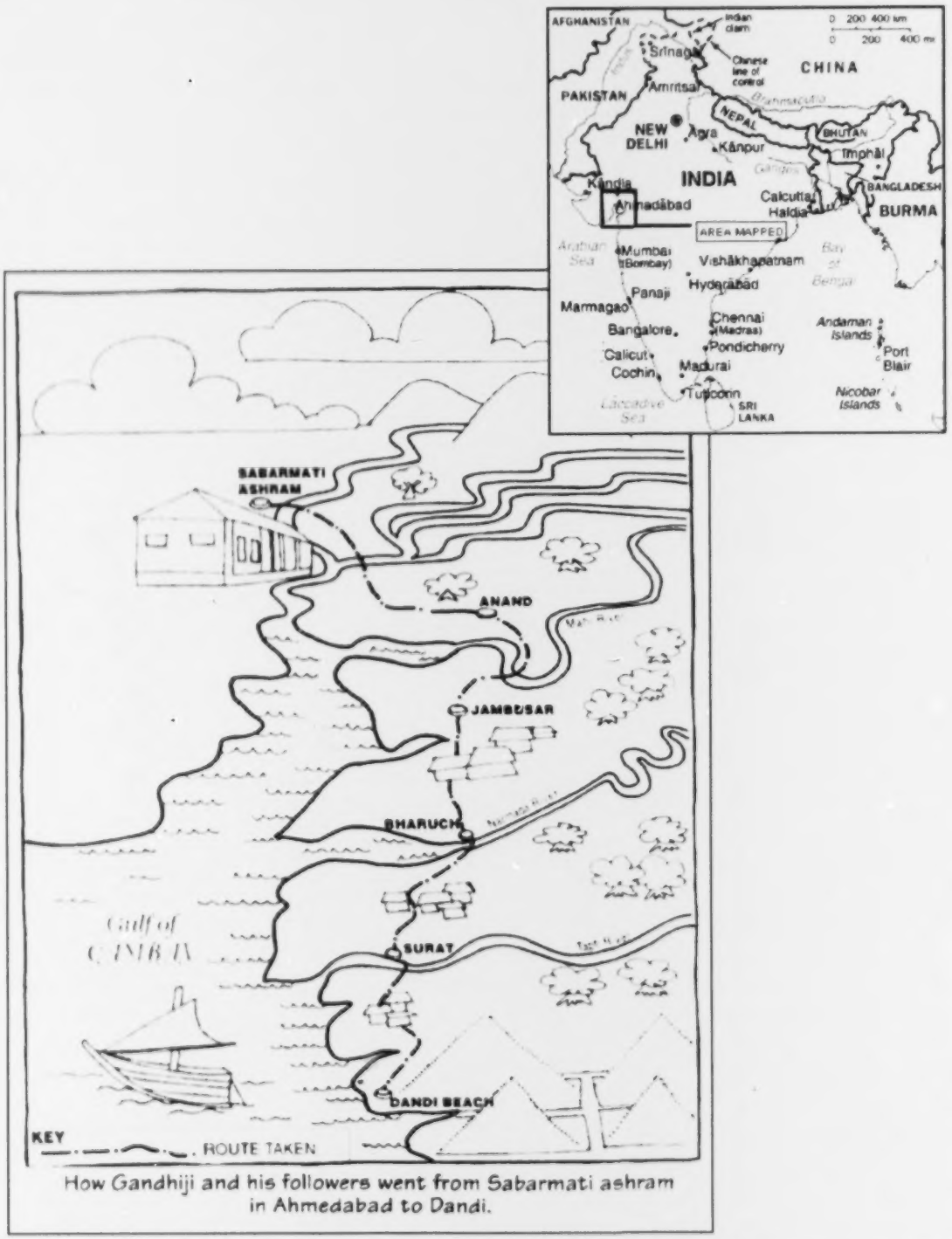
THE SALT MARCH



How Gandhiji and his followers went from Sabarmati ashram in Ahmedabad to Dandi.

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Lesson IV: A Comparison of Mao's and Gandhi's Approaches to Development

A. Objectives

- To understand Gandhi's philosophy of and approach to modernization and industrialization.
- To understand Mao's philosophy of and approach to modernization and industrialization.
- To compare and contrast Gandhi and Mao's views on the best way to modernize.
- To compare and contrast Gandhi and Mao's approach to modernization with the "liberal" approaches of the United States and Western European countries.

B. Historical Background Information for Teachers

Although both Mao and Gandhi wanted to uplift the poor and provide for basic education, food, water, and other necessary amenities for survival, their views on modernization, economic development, and industrialization differed sharply.

Gandhi's experiences as a student in London and living under British colonialism greatly influenced his sharp critique of industrial capitalism. He agreed with Mao that much of western economic development rested on the sweat and blood of colonial labor and exploitation of people of color. Mao's experience with the West was not as direct as Gandhi's but, following Lenin, he also regarded capitalism as synonymous with imperialism. Mao's differences with Gandhi centered on his belief that China should industrialize as soon as possible, and he was willing to use any means to achieve that goal. His dream of an industrially powerful China led Mao into several mammoth social experiments, notably his programs in the 1950s to build rural agricultural communes and launch the "Great Leap Forward," designed to rapidly industrialize China by centralized planning and mass mobilization.

Because Mao well understood that ideology must adapt to real history and that we can make major reforms only when the time is ripe, he had to postpone his ultimate dream of collectivizing agriculture into Soviet-style communes. In his initial experiences with peasant reforms in Hunan and Kiangsi in the 1920s he supported the redistributing farm land seized from large landlords to landless peasants. Even up to 1953 most of the farmland in China was in the hands of individual farmers who held titles to the land they tilled. Mao had moved slowly to implement his dream of Soviet-style collective farming, but by 1956 he wanted at least a million collective farms. In the revolutionary fervor of the Great Leap, he was finally able to collectivize agriculture into thousands of rural communes and believed that the transition to socialism was essentially complete.

Unfortunately, the Great Leap Forward, collectivizing agriculture and state control of industry, contributed to the loss of from 20 to 30 million lives, largely due to the great famines of the early 1960s. In addition, China's drastic move, under Deng Xiaoping, to adopt market capitalism, has destroyed Mao's commune policy and moved China a quantum distance from his dreams for his country.

Gandhi's commitment to democratic and voluntary methods of economic and social reform meant that his programs moved far slower than Mao's. Many would argue his goals for India have not been realized at all. Moreover with his experimental approach to truth, Gandhi did not develop an overall plan for rural India, but relied more on a set of guiding principles based on his enduring belief that the downtrodden peasants and urban workers must have meaningful labor and earn enough to support their families. Infusing all his development projects was the value of human dignity and the belief that humans were not created to serve others' ends, but that we are all ends in ourselves.

Gandhi, like Mao, was convinced that India should not and could not follow the path of European and American development, which he saw as based on colonial exploitation and enriching the few at the expense of workers and peasants in their own countries, as well as the poor all over the world. Gandhi also believed that increasing material wealth was not a proper purpose for any society. He championed a society where people used only what they actually needed to survive rather than basing their social status on conspicuous consumption. He also thought that the philosophy of materialism stood in stark opposition to the spiritual life.

As a practical man, Gandhi knew that many Indians living in farming villages had been driven out of cities as a result of British imperialism because manufactured goods had replaced the handicraft industries that had supported millions of Indian prior to colonialism. He wanted a development policy that would employ the former artisans and provide farmers with a living wage. He also believed this kind of work had more meaning than laboring in factories on assembly lines. He did not agree with his protégé, Jawarhalal Nehru, the first prime minister of India, who agreed with Mao that former colonial nations should industrialize as soon as possible. Gandhi stood against a rapid industrial policy for India. In this position Gandhi was in a distinct minority in both India and other colonized nations.

In spite of this lonely voice in post-independent politics, the Gandhian approach to development did have some impact. Many of Gandhi's followers did devote their lives to village uplift. Especially during the 1950s and 1960s, village level workers and Block Development Officers, commissioned by the government as a Gandhian legacy, traveled throughout rural India in a major effort to teach sanitation, improved farm methods, family planning, handicrafts, literacy, and village level democracy. The Nehru government also subsidized handicrafts and homespun and incorporated some of Gandhi's ideas in education and land reform.

The importance of Mao's and Gandhi's reform agendas and their creative approaches to modernization rests in part on their determination that their nations should not blindly follow the Western road to capitalism. For Mao, that path allowed his people to fall into a continuing subservient role to Western imperialists. For Gandhi Westernization symbolized mindless materialism and the worship of products and consumption. Mao not only theorized about a Marxist alternative to capitalism, but was able, particularly in the 1950s, to move China strongly in that direction. Gandhi, having no official power and relying on his own moral persuasion to influence Indians, could only stand by and begin to observe India's drive for industrialization and acceptance of power politics in place of his own methods and goals. His assassination in 1948 perhaps mercifully ended the suffering he felt because of the in which people the people of India were moving.

Most of Gandhi's development program was disregarded by the government of independent India, and since 1991 Indian leaders have opted for a capitalist free market economy. Mao, twenty-four years younger than Gandhi, lived on through the disasters of the Great Leap Forward, yet he too, observing the growing influence of the more pragmatic among the Communist leaders, feared his country would stray from the true socialist path and drift into capitalism. In the 1960s, in one last attempt to keep alive the revolutionary spirit of his earlier years, initiated the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution that in effect slowed China's economic development to a standstill. By the time he died in 1976 at age 82, most people in China had recognized that the Cultural Revolution had been an unmitigated disaster and that Mao Zedong, the father of the new nation, must bear the greatest responsibility for its excesses.

C. Lesson Activities (Completion time: one day)

1. For homework assign one-half the class the readings by Mao (**Student Handout 14**) and the other half the readings by Gandhi (**Student Handout 15**). Ask them to note the major goals each writer identifies.

2. On the following day ask students to share what they learned about the Gandhian way and the Maoist way for how a society should modernize. Sample issues might be:

    a. To what extent should people try to follow the path set by the United States and other capitalist systems?

    b. To what extent should they rely on people's voluntary support or should they use force?

    c. Should they concentrate more on building up heavy industry or agriculture?

    d. How should people who seem to be exploiting others be treated?

    e. What are the most important values to guide them as they modernize? (For example: life expectancy, literacy, skills, equality, quality of life, etc.?)

Mao's Path to Development

Reading 1: Mao's Approach to the Western Model of Development

. . . Under these conditions, [launching a world war in 1939] the bourgeoisie of each of the imperialist states realizes that without a vast war, without transforming the limited war into a total war, without demolishing its imperialist friends, it cannot escape either the economic crisis or the political crisis, nor can it escape its own death.

These are the calculations of the bourgeoisie of all the countries of the world on the eve of its death. The authors of these calculations have no idea that in this way – by making use of a war to divide up the world anew in order to escape from the economic and political crisis and to avoid their own death—they cannot fail to create an even greater economic and political crisis and to hasten the day of their own death.

Source: "Lecture to the Party Cadres" *Yenan* (14 September, 1939), in Stuart R. Schram, *The Political Thought of Mao Tse-tung* (New York: Praeger, 1969), pp. 394–95.

Reading 2: Mao on the Superiority of the Socialist Path to Development

Clearly, it follows from the colonial, semicolonial, and semifeudal character of present-day Chinese society that the Chinese revolution must be divided into two stages. The first step is to change the colonial, semicolonial, and semifeudal form of society into an independent, democratic society. The second is to carry the revolution forward and build a socialist society.

Source: "On New Democracy" (January 1940), in Mao Tse-tung, *Selected Works II* (Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1965), pp. 342–44.

The peoples' democratic dictatorship is based on the alliance of the working class, the peasantry, and the urban petty bourgeoisie, and mainly on the alliance of the workers and peasants, because these two classes comprise 80 to 90 per cent of China's population. ...The transition from New Democracy to socialism also depends mainly upon their alliance.

Source: "On the Peoples' Democratic Dictatorship" (June 1949), in Mao Tse-tung, *Selected Works IV* (Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1965), p. 56.

The contraction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the social road and the capitalist road, is undoubtedly the principal contradiction in contemporary Chinese society. . . . Previously the principal task for the proletariat was to lead the masses in struggles against imperialism and feudalism, a task that has already been accomplished. What then is the principal contradiction now? We are now carrying on the socialist revolution, the spearhead of which is directed against the bourgeoisie, and at the same time this revolution aims at transforming the system of

individual production, that is bring about cooperation; consequently the principal contradiction is between socialism and capitalism, between collectivism and individualism, or in a nutshell between the socialist road and the capitalist road.

Source: Mao Tse-tung, *Selected Works V*:492–3, in Stuart R. Schram, *The Thought of Mao Tse-tung* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 159.

Reading 3: Mao Speaks out Against Liberalism

All the experience the Chinese people have accumulated through several decades teaches us to enforce the people's democratic dictatorship—which one could also call people's democratic autocracy, the two terms mean the same thing—that is, to deprive the reactionaries of the right to speak and let the people alone have that right. . . .

Don't you want to abolish state power? Yes we do, but not right now; we cannot do it yet. Why? Because imperialism still exists, because domestic reaction still exists, because classes still exist in our country. Our present task is to strengthen the people's state apparatus—mainly the people's army, the people's police, and the people's courts—in order to consolidate the national defense and protect the people's interests. Given this condition, China can develop steadily, under the leadership of the working class and the Communist Party, from an agricultural into an industrial country, and from a new-democratic into a socialist and communist society, abolish classes and realize the Great Harmony.

Source: Stuart R. Schram, *The Thought of Mao Tse-tung* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 91.

Gandhi's Path to Development

Reading 1: Gandhi Advises Against the Western Model of Development

Under British aegis, we have learnt much, but it is my firm belief that there is little to gain from Britain in intrinsic morality, that if we are not careful, we shall introduce all the vices that she has been a prey to, owing to the disease of materialism. We can profit by that connection only if we keep our civilization, and our morals, straight, i.e., if instead of boasting of the glorious past, we express the ancient moral glory in our own lives and let our lives bear witness to our past. Then we shall benefit her and ourselves. If we copy her because she provides us with rulers, both they and we shall suffer degradation. We need not be afraid of ideals or of reducing them to practice even to the uttermost. Ours will only then be a truly spiritual nation when we shall show more truth than gold, greater fearlessness than pomp of power and wealth, greater charity than love of self. If we will but clean our houses, our palaces and temples of the attributes of wealth and show in them the attributes of morality, we can offer battle to any combination of hostile forces without having to carry the burden of a heavy militia. Let us seek first the kingdom of God and His righteousness and the irrevocable promise is that everything will be added with us. These are real economics.

Source: "Economic and Moral Progress," 22 December, 1916, Address to Muir Central College Economic Society, in Raghaven Iyer, ed. *The Essential Writings of Mahatma Gandhi* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 99.

There is nothing to prevent me from profiting by the light that may come out of the West. Only I must take care that I am not overpowered by the glamour of the West. I must not mistake the glamour for the true light.

Source: *Harijan*, (Jan 13, 1940), in Louis Fisher, *The Essential Gandhi; An Anthology* (New York: Random House, 1962), p. 290.

Reading 2: Gandhi's Critique of Socialism and Communism

Bolshevism is the necessary result of modern materialistic civilization. Its insensate worship of matter has given rise to a school which has been brought up to look upon materialistic advancement as the goal of life and which has lost touch with the final things of life. . . . I prophesy that if we disobey the law of the final supremacy of spirit over matter, of liberty and love over brute force, in a few years time we shall have Bolshevism rampant in this land which was once so holy.

Whilst I have the greatest admiration for the self-denial and spirit of sacrifice of our [Communist] friends, I have never concealed the sharp difference between their method and mine. They frankly believe in violence and all that is in its bosom. . . . Their aim is material progress. . . . I want

freedom for full expression of my personality. I must be free to build a staircase to Sirius if I want to.

. . . . I look upon an increase of the power of the State with the greatest fear because, although while apparently doing good by minimizing exploitation, it does the greatest harm to mankind by destroying individuality which lies at the root of all progress. . . .

. . . . No action which is not voluntary can be called moral. So long as we act like machines there can be no question of morality. If we want to call an action moral it should have been done consciously and as a matter of duty. Any action that is dictated by fear or by coercion of any kind ceases to be moral. Democracy and violence can go ill together.

Source: Mohandas K. Gandhi, discussion with Louis Fisher (July, 1946); Mohandas K. Gandhi, *Ethical Religion*, p. 43; *Harijan*, (Nov. 12, 1938) all in Louis Fisher, *The Essential Gandhi: An Anhology* (New York: Random House, 1962), pp. 303-304.

Reading 3: Gandhi's Ideas on Development

I have believed and repeated times without number that India is to be found not in its few cities but in its 700,000 villages. But we town-dwellers have believed that India is to be found in its towns, and the villages were created to minister to our needs; I have found that the town-dweller has generally exploited the villager. The village movement is as much an education of the city people as of the villagers. It is only when the cities realize the duty of asking an adequate return to the villages for the strength and sustenance which they derive from them, instead of selfishly exploiting them, that a healthy and moral relationship between the two will spring up.

My idea of village *Swaraj* (self-rule) is that it is a complete republic, independent of its neighbors for its own vital wants and yet interdependent for many others in which dependence is necessary. An ideal Indian village will be so constructed as to lend itself to perfect sanitation. It will have cottages with sufficient light and ventilation, built of a material obtainable within a radius of five miles of it. The cottages will have courtyards enabling the householders to plant vegetables for domestic use and to house their cattle.

The village lanes and streets will be free of all avoidable dust. It will have wells according to its needs and accessible to all. It will have houses of worship for all; also a common meeting place a village common for grazing cattle, a cooperative dairy, primary and secondary schools in which industrial education will be the central factor, and it will have village Panchayats for settling disputes. It will produce its own grains, vegetables and fruit, and its own *khadi* [home-spun cloth].

Khadi to me is the symbol of unity of Indian humanity, of its economic freedom and equality. . . . Moreover, *kadhi* mentality means decentralization of the production and distribution of the necessities of life. Therefore, the formula so far evolved is, every village to produce all its necessaries

and a certain percentage in addition for the requirements of the cities. Production of khadi includes cotton growing, picking, ginning, cleaning, carding, slivering, spinning, sizing, dyeing, preparing the warp and the woof, weaving and washing. . . . I feel convinced that the revival of hand-spinning and hand-weaving will make the largest contribution to the economic and the moral regeneration of India. The millions must have a simple industry to supplement agriculture. Spinning was the cottage industry years ago, if the millions are to be saved from starvation, they must be enable to reintroduce spinning in their homes, and every village must repossess its own weaver.

Mechanization is good when the hands are too few for the work intended to be accomplished. It is an evil when there are more hands than required for the work, as is the case in India. The problem with us is not how to find leisure for the teeming millions inhabiting our villages. The problem is how to utilize their idle hours, which are equal to the working days of six months in every year. . . .

My idea of society is that while we are born equal, meaning that we have a right to equal opportunity, all have not the same capacity. Every human being has a right to live, and therefore to find the wherewithal to feed himself and clothe and house himself. I want to bring about an equalization of status. Economic equality is the master key to non-violent independence. A non-violent system of government is clearly an impossibility so long as the wide gulf between the rich and the hungry millions persists.

Source: Adapted from Mohandas K. Gandhi, *India of My Dreams*, and Mohandas K. Gandhi, *Village Swaraj*; in Donald J. and Jean E. Johnson, eds., *Through Indian Eyes* (New York: Praeger, 1974), 277–280.

Lesson V: Mao's and Gandhi's Views on The Distribution of Wealth and their Attitudes toward the Rich

A. Objectives

- To compare changing the outlook of capitalists through the use of violence as opposed to appealing to their humanness and morality.
- To understand the difference between Mao's and Gandhi's views on the role and importance of material goods and wealth in peoples' lives.
- To enable students to compare and contrast Mao's and Gandhi's general philosophies on capitalism, materialism, and the distribution of wealth.

B. Historical Background Information for Teachers

Mao Zedong, even as a youngster, strongly identified with the poor peasants. He chided his father's indifference to them and sometimes gave food to the poor. His experiences at school only strengthened his empathy with the poor peasants who made up about 70 percent of the Chinese population. After his acceptance of Marxist-Leninist ideology he met and worked with peasant associations from time to time and continued to support their revolts. However, it was Mao's experience in Kiangsi, where he had been assigned to work in the late 1920s, that crystallized his life-long commitment to helping the poor peasants acquire land and a better standard of living.

Unlike Gandhi, Mao put little faith in the possibility of changing the hearts of the rich landlords. Instead, he sought to introduce the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat," with the Communist Party acting as the surrogate of the workers and peasants. People such as large landlords, the gentry, and the few capitalists in China would have to be "suppressed," "deprived of their freedom of speech," and otherwise re-socialized into people of correct ideology.

Mao turned more to the idea of violent struggle during his work among the peasants in central Hunan in 1926. After that experience he always believed that armed force was the best way to deal with the landlord and capitalist classes and that their land and wealth should be expropriated and shared with the poor. When he took over control of the Peoples' Republic of China in 1949, he was able to begin implementation of his plan to eliminate the power of the landlords and capitalists. By 1957 he moved dramatically against the two classes and introduced agricultural communes and other collectivist institutions. He called this political system "democratic dictatorship."

Gandhi, on the other hand, never advocated dichotomizing the relationship between the poor and the rich or using violence to do so. Rather, he hoped to reconcile these seeming opposites by

promoting harmony and reciprocity between these classes. In his short book, *My Theory of Trusteeship*, Gandhi sought to convince the wealthy that they would live a more moral life if they eschewed the fruits of their fortunes and instead provided a better material life for the poor. His philosophy of trusteeship draws heavily on the ancient Indian teachings of Jainism and Buddhism, which assumed that renunciation of worldly possessions was one of the prerequisites for gaining salvation.

Gandhi, as in most matters, exemplified this value in his own life by giving up almost all of his worldly possessions. When he launched his Phoenix ashram experiment in 1906, Gandhi gave away all of his possessions and when he died his total assets represented an estate of under five dollars. (Show picture of his last possessions on **Student Handout 16**). As he so pithily put it, "We should aim at getting only what the rest of the world gets. Thus, if the whole world gets milk, we may also have it."

C. Lesson Activities (Completion time: one day)

1. Assign students a set of the source readings for homework. For the following day conduct a close reading of the documents based on the following questions:

2. Discussion questions for the Gandhi readings (**Student Handout 16**):

    a. What is Gandhi's attitude toward personal consumption of material things?

    b. What does Gandhi mean when he says that the rich are not using their resources wisely?

    c. What does Gandhi mean by "trusteeship" of wealth?

    d. What does Gandhi see the rich doing as evidenced in the visits he has made to some of their houses?

    e. Why does Gandhi believe that forcibly taking the lands of the *Zamindars* and *Talukdars* will do little good?

    f. According to Gandhi, on what basis should we make appeals to the *Zamindars* and *Talukdars* to get them to help the poor?

    g. What is Gandhi's dream to bring about a more equitable distribution of wealth?

    h. How does Gandhi distinguish between his attitude toward capitalists and toward capitalism?

Discussion questions for the Mao readings (**Student Handout 17**):

a. According to the first document, what seems to be going on in Yunan?

b. What seems to be Mao's attitude toward the landlords?

c. What is Mao's position on the peasants chosen method of resistance?

d. According to Mao, what social classes form the "democratic dictatorship?" What classes are the "enemy?"

e. How does Mao justify excluding the capitalist and landlord class from participating in democracy?

f. Mao seems to think that the people cannot really live democratically. How does his concept of democracy work? Who has the ultimate political power?

3. Discussion questions on the comparison between Mao's and Gandhi's approaches to wealth and class struggle:

a. What are the major differences between Mao and Gandhi in their attitudes toward the best method for changing the vast inequities in wealth between the rich and poor in China and India?

b. What underlying philosophy supports each position on relations among the classes?

c. Whom do you think is more correct in his analysis of wealth and classes? On what ideological basis do you make your argument?

GANDHI READINGS

Reading 1: To the Rich Men

I venture to suggest to you that you are not using your riches wisely, though you seem to be using them profusely. . . . I want to present you with my own recipe [which] is really a part of our religion, and it is this: that no matter how much money we have earned, we should regard ourselves s trustees holding these moneys, for the welfare of all of our neighbors. There is a verse which says that he who eats without sacrifice, that is without giving, is a thief. If God gives us power and wealth, He gives us the same so that we may use them for the benefit of mankind and not for our selfish, carnal purpose.

The art of amassing riches, becomes a degrading and despicable art, if it is not accompanied by the nobler art of how to spend wealth usefully. . . . Let not possession of wealth be synonymous with degradation, vice, and profligacy.

What do I see? Your houses choked with foreign furniture, your houses furnished with all kinds of foreign fineries and foreign things! Your houses contain many things for which, in this holy land of ours, there should be no room whatsoever. I tell you that I have felt oppressed with this excessive furniture. There is in the midst of it hardly any room to sit or breath in.

We may forcibly dispossess the *Zamindars* and *Talukdars (*large landlords) of their thousands of *bighas* (a bigha is about two acres), And among whom shall we distribute them? We need not dispossess them. They only need a change of the heart. When that is done, and when they learn to melt at their tenants' woe, they will hold their lands in trust for them, will give them a major part of the produce, keeping what is sufficient for themselves.

The dream I want to realize is not spoilation of the property of private owners, but to restrict its enjoyment so as to avoid all pauperism, consequent discontent and the hideously, ugly contrast that exists to-day between the lives and surroundings of the rich and the poor. The latter must be enabled to feel that they are copartners with their Zamindars and not their slaves to be made to labour at the latter's sweet will, and to be made to pay all kinds of exactions on all conceivable occasions.

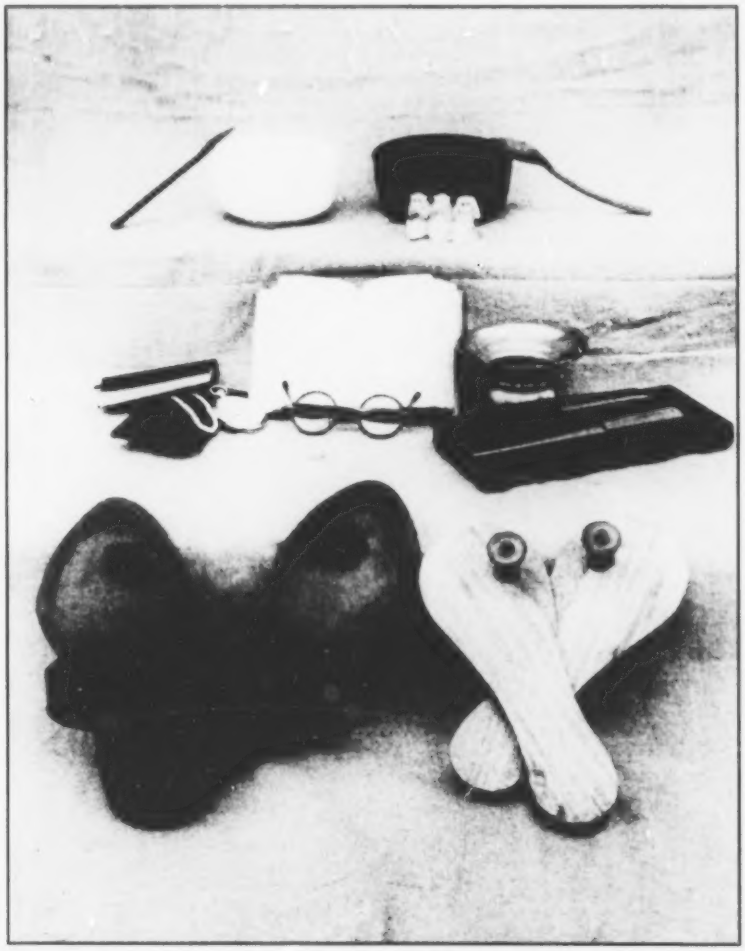
[Class war]...can, most decidedly, [be avoided] if only the people will follow the non-violent method. When the people adopt it as a principle of conduct. Class war becomes an impossibility. By the non-violent method we seek not to destroy the capitalist, we seek to destroy capitalism.

I do not bear any ill to the capitalists; I can think of doing them no harm. But I want, by means of suffering, to awaken them to their sense of duty; I want to melt their hearts and get them to render justice to their less fortunate brethren.

Reading 2

We should not receive any single thing that we do not need. . . . We are not always aware of our real needs, and most of us improperly multiply our wants, and thus make thieves of ourselves.

Source: Mohandas K. Gandhi, *Young India* (Nov. 21, 1959), in Mohandas K. Gandhi, *My Theory of Trusteeship* (Bombay: Bharatya Vidya Bhavan, 1967), pp. 20–25, 27, 29.



Gandhi's last possessions
Information Service of India, New York

Mao Readings

Reading 1

The Hunan peasants at the present time cannot be said to have overthrown the landlords. We can only say that they are now rebelling against them. Those who do not know the real conditions say that in Hunan the conditions are terrible, that too many landlords and their hirelings have been killed. But the facts are otherwise. . . . The landlords killed numbered only tens, but the number of peasants killed by them is astounding. . . . Many people know that the peasants are conducting a revolution in Hunan, but few know the cunning and cruelty of the landlords.

Source: Min Kuo Jih Pao, "Report of the Delegate of the Hunan Provincial Peasant Association," *Wuhan*, June 12, 1927, in Robert Payne, *Mao Tse-tung* (New York: Weybright and Talley, 1969), pp. 93–94.

Reading 2

Ours is a people's democratic dictatorship, led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance. What is this dictatorship for? Its first function is to suppress the reactionary classes and elements and those exploiters in the country who range themselves against the socialist revolution, to suppress all those who try to wreck our socialist construction; that is to say, to solve the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy within the country. For instance, to arrest, try, and sentence certain counterrevolutionaries, and for a specified period of time to deprive landlords and bureaucrat-capitalists of their right to vote and freedom of speech—likewise necessary to exercise dictatorship over robbers, swindlers, murderers, arsonists, hooligans, and other scoundrels who seriously disrupt social order.

. . . Who is to exercise this dictatorship? Naturally it must be the working class and the entire people led by it. Dictatorship does not apply in the ranks of the people. The people cannot possibly exercise dictatorship over themselves; nor should one section of them oppress another section.

Source: Mao Tse-tung, *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1957), pp. 11–13, 38–41, 51.

Lesson VI: Application of Gandhi's and Mao's Approaches to Reform

A. Objectives

- To help students understand Gandhi's *Satyagraha* approach in a concrete reform effort in India
- To help students understand Mao's approach to collectivism in an actual institutional application.
- To help students compare and analyze the implications that one's world view and philosophy have on shaping historic events
- To help students compare and contrast Gandhian reforms and Maoist reforms.

B. Historical Background Information for Teachers

Both Mao and Gandhi were social and political activists. Neither man would have been content to put his ideas forward for others to ponder and act upon. Each theorized only as a means to conceptualize concrete social issues and then to act and move others to act on his proposed solutions. Since both leaders sought to bring about a change in both social structure and in human consciousness, they had to pick and choose their specific arena of testing very carefully. Both had a keen sense of timing and knew when to compromise and when to move boldly forward and attempt major changes in their societies. They both also had to have a keen sense of their peoples' values and what was possible even as they risked a great deal to move their followers toward their goals.

Undoubtedly Mao used a great deal of political force to institute the commune movement in the 1950s. Chinese peasants had had a long tradition of tilling their own private plots of land. During the decades of the communist movement the peasants insisted on a land reform program that would take land away from landlords and rich peasants and redistribute it to families who should have deed to that land. In his first days among the Yunan peasants in the 1920s, Mao almost immediately recognized that the peasants wanted to own their own land. He adjusted his communist ideology to see this period of agrarian reform as a temporary phase along the way to eventual socialism. It was only in the 1950s that Mao thought it was time to "seize the moment" and introduce his cherished view of collectivized farming. This major reform in agriculture was one of the most sweeping changes in Chinese history and represented a major example of Mao's almost total power and a great personal triumph of the 1950s.

Gandhi faced a similar problem in India. In choosing to take on the eradication of untouchability, he was challenging a social system that went back at least 2,500 years. Both 6th century B.C.E. reformers Mahavira and Buddha had questioned the practice. Part of Gandhi's genius was his ability to bring into the nationalist movement a variety of domestic reforms that addressed issues of equality. His reform priorities included doing something about poverty, public health and education, and destroying the practice of untouchability.

Moving untouchability to the top of his agenda in 1932 soon after the successful salt march surprised the nationalist leadership. But that was one of Gandhi's traits. He often admitted that sometimes he himself didn't know what he was going to do next. However, his domestic reform agenda and his central place in the nationalist movement were not contradictory. He wanted nothing less that to create a new consciousness in his people. For him national freedom carried with it the awesome responsibility of personal discipline. He had earlier called off an increasingly successful non-cooperation movement because he believed many people were resorting to violence and hence not mature enough to be trusted with mass political action. Now by engaging untouchability he was trying to teach Indians that freedom from colonial rule also earned with it freedom for all Indians, even the lowliest in the social system. The importance of this issue is evident in the fact he was willing to die for this cause.

C. Lesson Activities (Completion time: One day)

1. Assign documents (**Student Handouts 18**, **19**, and **20**) to students for homework and ask them to think about and take notes on following questions:

    a. Why was it very difficult for caste Hindus to accept untouchables as equals in their social and daily life?

    b. Why were some of Gandhi's closest supporters skeptical about his fast?

    c. What impact did the fast have on the Indian people?

    d. Why do you think Gandhi succeeded in his objective?

    e. What advantages do peasants seem to have by living on a commune?

    f. What did peasants have to give up by the organization of communes?

    g. What disruptions in peoples' lives accompanied the Great Leap Forward?

    h. How did the backyard furnaces affect village life?

    i. What is are the differences between the government reports on the success of the Great Leap Forward and historian Craig Dietrich's own evaluation of the reform?

Gandhi Readings on Reform

Reading 1: Gandhi Works in the Villages

As I gained more experience in Bihar, I became convinced that work of a permanent nature was impossible without proper education. The ryots' [farmers'] ignorance was pathetic. The either allowed their children to roam about, or made them toil on indigo plantations from morning to night for a couple of coppers a day. . . .

In consultation with my companions I decided to open primary schools in six villages. One of our conditions with the villagers was that they should provide the teachers with board and lodging while we would see to the other expenses. The village folk had hardly any cash in their hands, but they could well afford to provide foodstuffs. Indeed, they had already expressed their readiness to contribute grin and other raw materials. . . .

But I did not want to stop at providing for primary education. The villages were insanitary, the lanes full of filth, the wells surrounded by mud and sink and the courtyards unbearably untidy The elder people needed education in uncleanliness. They were all suffering from various skin diseases. So it was decided to do as much sanitary work as possible and to penetrate every department of their lives. . . .

[The doctors and teachers who came to work in the village] had express instructions not to concern themselves with grievances against planters or with politics. Medical relief was a simple affair. Caster oil, quinine, and sulphur ointment were the only drugs provided to the volunteers . . . Quite a number of people led themselves of this simple relief. . . .

Sanitation was a difficult affair. The people were not prepared to do anything for themselves. [The doctor and his volunteers] concentrated their energies on making the village clean. They swept the roads and the courtyards, cleaned out the wells, filled up the pools near by, and lovingly persuaded the villagers to raise volunteers from amongst themselves. In some villages they shamed people into taking up the work. . . .

Source: Mohandas K. Gandhi, *Gandhi: An Autobiography. The Story of My Experiments with Truth* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957), pp. 420–422.

Reading 2: Gandhi Fasts Against Untouchability

I have not hesitated to say with great deliberation that, if we, Hindus, do not destroy this monster of untouchability, it will devour both Hindus and Hinduism. And when I ask you to purify your hearts of untouchability, I ask of you nothing less than this—that you should believe in the fundamental unity and equality of man. I invite you all to forget that there are any distinctions of high and low among the children of one and the same God.

Source: M. K. Gandhi, *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, in Dennis Dalton, *Mahatma Gandhi: Nonviolent Power in Action* (New York: Columbia Univerity Press, 1993), p. 57.

GANDHI'S EPIC FAST

In 1932, while in prison, Gandhi undertook a fast unto death on the issue of untouchability. The specific issue was Gandhi's rejection of separate electorates for caste Hindus and untouchables. Not everyone agreed with the fast. Nehru "felt annoyed with him for choosing a side issue for his final sacrifice. . . . " He broke the fast only when the British government accepted the agreement worked out with Ambedkar, an untouchable leader and spokesperson. In describing this "Epic Fast," Louis Fisher, in his 1954 biography of Gandhi, explained:

An orthodox Hindu must not touch an untouchable or anything an untouchable touches. If by chance he does he purges himself by religiously prescribed ablutions. Even the shadow of an untouchable is regarded as unclean in some areas of India. Obviously, therefore, untouchables should not enter a Hindu temple. They inhabit the worst sections of the world's worst urban slums, and in villages they live on the lowest outskirts into which the filth and dirty waters drain, but it is the only water they can use, for the well is forbidden to them. It would be polluted. . . .

Theoretically a barrier to contamination, untouchability contaminates those who practice it and the country that allows it. The degraders are dragged down morally, economically, and socially with those they degrade. . . . [Gandhi wanted to] "sting the Hindu conscious into right religious action," That was the reason for his fast unto death. . . .

In the six days of the "Epic Fast," as it came to be called, the important events did not take place in the prison yard, or in the room where Ambedkar made the Hindus pay, or in London. They happened throughout India. Nehru, who at first felt angry with Gandhi for fasting on the untouchable issue, soon saw the light. "Then," his autobiography records, "came the news of the tremendous upheaval all over the country. . . . What a magician, I thought, was this little man sitting in Yeravda Prison, and how well he knew how to pull the strings that pulled the people's hearts."

A Hindu change of heart was Gandhi's purpose in fasting. "No patched-up agreement between caste Hindus and rival Depressed Class leaders will answer the purpose," he stated five days before the fast commenced. "The agreement to be valid has to be real. If the Hindu mass mind is not yet ready to banish untouchability root and branch it must sacrifice me without the slightest hesitation. " So as he lay waning he looked beyond the negotiations to the living reality of Hindu relations with untouchables.

The news of the fast permeated India. Those who read told those who could not read. "The Mahatma is fasting.

"Why is the Mahatma fasting?"

"Because we Hindus close out temples to untouchables and treat them badly."

The cities buzzed with excitement. Peasant marketing in cities carried the reports to the villages. India's ear was cocked for more news. "Mahatmaji is sinking." "Mahatmaji is dying." "We must hurry." It was evil to prolong Gandhi's agony. He was a slice of God, God's messenger on earth. The class relationship to him was a highly emotional one, transcending logic. At the very beginning of the week, the famous Kalighat temple of Calcutta and the Ram Mandir of Benares, citadels of Hindu orthodoxy, were thrown open to untouchables for the first time in the thousands of years of Hindu history. In Bombay, a women's organization organized a poll in front of seven big Hindu temples with ballot boxes watched by volunteers. Worshippers cast 24,797 votes for the admission of Harijans, 445 against. Immediately, temples in which no Harijan foot had ever trod were opened to all. In Allahabad, twelve temples theretofore inaccessible to untouchables opened their doors to them on the first day of Gandhi's fast. In the native states of Baroda, Kashmir, Bhor, and Kolhapur, temple discrimination was stopped. The newspapers printed the names of hundreds of other temples that did likewise.

In Delhi, Caste Hindus and Harijans demonstratively fraternized in the streets. At the strictly Hindu Benares University, Principal Dhriva, with numerous Brahmans, dined publicly with numerous street cleaners, cobblers, and scavengers. Hindu pupils shared benches formally reserved for untouchables. Roads and streets were opened to Harijans. Many villages and small towns allowed untouchables to use the common water wells.

Mrs. Swarup Rani Nehru, Jawaharlal's very orthodox mother, let it be known that she accepted food from the hand of an untouchable. Thousands of prominent Hindu women followed her example. In villages and towns throughout India thousands of organizations adopted resolutions promising to stop and combat anti-Harijan discrimination. Telegraphed copies of these resolutions began to form a man-high heap in Gandhi's prison yard. A mother hovering over the crib of a tender child in a high-temperature crisis could be no more anxious than the India what watched the white cot of the sinking Mahatma. No mystic himself, he affected others mystically. Reason withdrew; passionately, frantically—because the end might have come at any moment—Hindus were reacting with one throbbing wish: he must not die.

During the six day fast, weddings were postponed, and most Hindus refrained from going to cinemas, theaters, and restaurants. A spirit of reform, penance, and self-purification swept the land. The magician was also a musician with an artist's genius to play on the heartstrings of the inner man.

"No one shall be regarded as an untouchable by reason of his birth," the Yeravda Pack said. Devout Hindus, with large religious followings, signed that statement. It marked a religious reformation, a psychological revolution, a purge of Hinduism's millennial sickness. It was food for India's moral health. No cold political agreement between Gandhi and Ambedkar, without a fast, would have achieved such a result.

Source: Louis Fisher, *The Essential Gandhi; An Anthology* (New York: Random House, 1962), pp. 109, 114, 121–23.

Mao Readings on Reform

Reading 1: The People's Commune

The Red Flag peoples commune [in Chinghai province] . . . was formed out of seven APCS, had 524 households and 3,003 individuals. Among them there are 408 Han households or 2,494 individuals, and three households of Tibetans with 9 individuals. There are 12,000 mau (a mau is about 2 acres) of land consisting of 700 mau of high mountain land, 4,400 mau of mountain stream land, and 6,900 mau of shallow mountain dry lands. Each laborer on the average was able to take responsibility over twelve mau of land; there were somewhat over a thousand workers, male and female. In addition there were 3,000 head of sheep, some 50 fruit trees (apricot, shakuao, pear). Geographically, there are stream areas, stream lands. From east to west the commune covers more than 30 li. . . .

Before the commune was established, the seen APCs had an average of twenty-thirty households. The largest hardly numbered a hundred. The population was scattered, and there was a shortage of labor. Though irrigation was practiced, land was leveled, schools and factories were set up—all was difficult. The land was fragmented into small parcels. It was impossible to use machinery to till the land, nor was it possible to use large implements. The local people who lived in the mountain regions subsisted on millet and were never able to eat wheat. The Han people living in the stream regions found it difficult to consume milk. As long as production materials such as forests, fruit trees, houses, sheep, small plots of land were still under private ownership, it was impossible to carry out unified planning and unified use, something which affected the development of production and construction.

. . . Since the commune was established within the short space of one month, there came about a great change. Through the unified allocation of the work force, when wheat was being harvested in the stream areas, more than two hundred people were recruited from among the local hill people to assist. Work which before took twenty days to do was accomplished in five days. Now when the millet ripens in the hills, the commune members in the stream areas take their tents to the hills.

Recently several specialized brigades have been set up which operate industry, agriculture, and supplemental enterprises, and work with a division of labor. Since the forests now belong to the commune, the lumber problem for building a wood-track railroad has been resolved. Recently iron and cola ore have been found in the hills, making it possible for the commune to smelt iron. The iron foundries, winemaking plants, medicine-processing shops, red-and-expert school, after-hours middle school, clinic, maternity room, nursery, mess hall, barber sop, sewing teams which have been set up by the commune—all are unifiedly run by the commune.

Source: Franz Schurtnann, "Peasants" in Franz Schurmann and Orville Schell, eds., *The China Reader; Communist China* (New York: Vintage, 1967), pp. 186–188.

Reading 2: The Great Leap Forward

[The Great Leap Forward] was a massive explosion of events that included the reorganization of the entire farm sector in a matter of weeks, the downward transfer of up to 2.5 million cadres, the mobilization of 90 million people to learn small-scale steel making, and the migration of as many as 20 million peasants to the cities. . . .

Rural mobilization took the form of off-season water control projects. As many as 60 million peasants were involved, being fed in communal mess halls. A movement was launched to spur technological innovations, such as the effort to "cartize" the south, that is, to replace carrying poles with wheeled carts. (This initiative failed to recognize that adequate roads and paths did not yet exist.) There was a campaign to eliminate the "four pests": flies, mosquitoes, rats, and sparrows. (When it was recognized that sparrows actually controlled other pests, they were replaced on the list of four by bedbugs.) There were mass mobilizations to gather fertilizer, reclaim land, and improve soil.

The modern sector was not neglected. In December [1957] the propaganda apparatus began to promote a Great Leap Forward in industry—not merely increased output but also the thorough decentralization of this sector . . . . In addition, it was decided that every locality should establish small-scale industries by using its own financial resources and local labor power. The use of both large-scale and small-scale technologies was called "walking on two legs." . . .

The most spectacular of all the Great Leap Forward development was the Rural People's Communes . . . . By the end of August, [1958] . . . already 30% of peasant families were in communes. In all, it took only two months to reorganize virtually the entire peasantry of China in approximately 24,000 communes.

The new units attempted to mobilize the rural labor force to achieve many things at once. Bumper harvests were expected while at the same time a variety of other enterprises went rapidly forward. Most prominent was the movement to build "backyard furnaces" to make iron and steel in the belief that production of these basic industrial materials could be increased by adding thousands of simpler local operations to China's modem mills and foundries. Mao later said that 90 million were mobilized to construct and operate furnaces. An eyewitness described them as follows:

> Furnace fields are everywhere in Lushan county, southern Henan province—plots of hundreds of small earthen furnaces were "growing" in late autumn when I was there, alongside fields of sweet potatoes and tobacco. From a distance the leaping flames and columns of smoke look like some new construction site accidentally ablaze. On the scene the atmosphere is like a fairground, with scores of people bustling in and out of the rows of furnaces.

> Small red flags fly overhead indicating the sections belonging to the various companies and squads of farmer-steelworkers, who are organized like militia units. The air is filled with the high-pitched melodies of local opera pouring through the amplifier above the site and accompanied by the hum of blowers, the panting of gasoline engines, the honking of heavily-laden lorries, and the bellowing of oxen hauling ore and coal.
>
> At one of the ten-foot high furnaces, a man climbs a wooden ladder to dump coke and firewood through the top. After a few minutes beside the 1,000-degree heat, he descends and another worker goes up to tamp the fuel down with his rake, A third man follows to pull the hot rake away from the blast of the fire. Beside the furnace another crew is pushing the handle of the huge homemade wooden bellows. With all his might one of them pulls the handle, half as tall as himself, and pushes it back with the weight of his body. Three other men standing by to take their turns jokingly cheer him on.

. . . In the summer and fall of 1958 the . . . sense of a great people's crusade pervaded everywhere. . . . Reports coming in from factories and communes indicated heroic increases in production. In late October the 1958 harvest was announced as virtually double the output of 1957. Steel output reportedly doubled as did the production of other commodities. . . .

However, underneath the glittering surface all was not well . . . . The massive relocation of labor and resources during this period ranks as one of the largest peacetime disturbances ever and caused massive disruptions in the economic system. Many of the initiatives were ill-conceived, the most blatant example being the backyard steel furnaces [which produced 3 million tons of nearly useless steel while draining off resources that could have been used productively elsewhere], which Mao himself later declared to be a great mistake. Other examples included deep plowing, close planting, and other inappropriate innovations. The tendency of commune manages to force socialized ownership and equal compensation and the disruptions in family life caused by mess halls, labor gangs, and long working hours lowered worker incentives. By the winter of 1958, China's buoyant leaders began to realize that something had gone seriously wrong.

Source: Craig Dietrich, *People's China A Brief History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), pp. 110, 123–140.

Note

Shortly after Mao's great collectivist program to establish communes major famines swept through China in the early 1960s resulting in from 20 to 30 million deaths. By the end of the Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution in 1976, most of the rural communes set up at the wish of Mao Zedong in the 1950s, were demolished and the lands returned to individual peasant families as part of the introduction of the market system into China under Deng Xiaoping's anti Maoist reforms.

Lesson VII: Speaking with Images

A. Objectives

- To analyze how Gandhi used clothing to communicate his message to the Indian people.
- To examine Mao's use of art and "big posters" to carry his message to the Chinese people.
- To speculate on various means to educate and arouse people to a cause.

B. Historical Background Information for Teachers

Gandhi realized that although many upper class, Western-educated Indians were committed to working for independence, one of the greatest challenges for the nationalist movement was to bring the majority of the people into the struggle, many of whom were very poor, illiterate, and divided by regional, linguistic, and religious differences. As Gandhi experimented with his methods and searched for ways to exemplify in his own life the values he preached, he became increasing aware of the power of clothing to express ideas. In a 1890 photograph while he was a law student in London, Gandhi dressed as an English barrister, believing that English clothes were "more civilized." He arrived in South Africa dressed like a British barrister except for his turban, which he added as a gesture to the Indian community. Very soon a magistrate in the Durban court asked him to remove the turban, an act he found most humiliating. Although he stopped wearing a turban, he registered his protest with the press. He also began to experiment consciously with the symbolic power of his clothing, dressing as the Indians did in draped rather than stitched clothing. By the time he returned to India in 1915, he knew that clothing could convey important messages, and he consciously chose to dress like an Indian peasant. The strong reactions his clothing elicited from the Indians who met him further convinced him of the symbolic importance of clothing. Moreover, when he went to England to attend the Round Table Conference in 1931, his simple dress in contrast to the King's finery made the point of the vast difference between the colonized and the colonizer better than thousands of words could demonstrate.

Gandhi debated for a long time whether he should wear a loincloth. He knew it could be taken as a sign of primitiveness or even indecency. On the other hand, it was a way of identifying with the poorest Indians. He insisted he was not trying to express "saintliness" even though many felt it represented the way Hindu ascetics dressed. Emma Tarlo, in her work *Clothing Matters: Dress and Identity in India,* summarizes some of his motivations for wearing the loincloth:

> In Gandhi's own perception, the loincloth was a sign of India's dire poverty and of the need to improve its wealth through swadeshi [things produced at home] and through a wholesale rejection of European civilization. It was a rejection not only of the material products of Europe, but also of the European value system with its criteria of decency. It was better for the poor to wear scanty loincloths than to clothe themselves in garments from abroad, But while the loincloth was indeed a full-scale promotion of Indianness, it was not a glorification of poverty. Rather through his nakedness, Gandhi hoped visually to expose Indian poverty while simultaneously suggesting its resolution through hand spinning, weaving, and freedom from British rule.
>
> Source: Emma Tarlo, *Clothing Matters: Dress and Identity in India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), p. 75.

How one dressed was very closely related to Gandhi's vision not only of the means Indians should use to achieve independence but also of the type of nation India should become. Central to that vision was homespun cloth known as khadi. Gandhi believed that making khadi would provide employment for many Indians, and contribute to the country's self-sufficiency, and eventually result in swaraj or self-rule. He worked very hard to get every Indian to spin his or her own cotton thread and to weave khadi. He often stated that wearing khadi was a moral duty, a sign that a person had transformed his or her life and was now devoted to "self-sacrifice," "purity," and "fellow feeling with every human being on earth."

Mao, like Gandhi, was also committed to bringing the masses into his movement, and he too searched for ways to involve everyone. One method he used was the ta-tzu-pao (big-character poster). In a 1958 statement he expressed his faith in this "most useful new weapon. It can be used in cities, rural areas, factories, cooperatives, shops, government institutions, schools, army units, and streets—wherever the masses congregate." Mao also believed that art should not simply be the expression of the artist, but must be used as a means to promote socialism. He encouraged artists to paint didactic images that would inspire the people to revolutionary activity and specifically to supporting his own policies and reforms. A 1974 an article about paintings and woodcuts by workers in Huhsein county, applying Mao's views on art, stated that as part of the Great Leap Forward the county had to:

> . . . set up an amateur art class on the construction site of a reservoir. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in literature and art, a lot of ordinary peasants broke through old metal shackles as to what they could or could not do. With hands that previously had held only hoes, they took up artists' brushes and began to paint as well as farm. What they painted were the heroic deeds of the county's people in the arduous battle to conquer nature. In fact, they were using the new art of the proletariat to take over the field of culture and ideology in the rural areas.
>
> Source: "Peasant Painters of Huhsein" *China Reconstructs* (January, 1974), p. 17.

Some of the posters in the sources refer to Lin Piao who was an important communist theoretician and a long-standing ally of Mao Zedong. However, in the 1950s Mao and Lin split over ideology and leadership. Lin was mysteriously killed in a plane crash in 1959 as he was attempting to escape to the Soviet Union. During the cultural revolution Lin became the object of much of Mao's criticism as expressed in many of the propaganda posters drawn during this period.

C. Lesson Activities (Completion time: one day)

1. Look around the class and identify students wearing some article of clothing with a label showing (a Nike sneaker, a Gap shirt, etc.) and ask them why the labels are visible and what those labels mean. Why do they wear clothes with labels that others can see? Discuss what we can tell about a person from how he or she dresses.

2. In small groups, have students examine various Chinese "big posters" (**Student Handouts 21–26**). Ask them to write a paragraph expressing the message of the poster they examine. Share the explanations and the posters and discuss which is a more effective means of communicating.

3. Have students examine the pictures of Gandhi (**Student Handouts 27–34**) either individually on by looking together at overhead transparencies. How does Gandhi's clothing change over the years? Why did he change the way he dressed? What "message" was he was trying to convey?

4. Follow up activities might include:

    a. Examine the effectiveness of ads that try to convey a message visually

    b. Look for other examples of Chinese "big posters."

    c. Make "big posters" to try and influence classmates about some issues.

"Big Character Poster Being Readied at the Yangchuan Collery"

This photograph shows the people putting the finishing touches on a "big-character" poster.

Source: *China Reconstructs*, May 1975, p. 33.

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"A Revolutionary Big-Character Poster"

by Luta Wang Shen-i

"This picture shows a young textile worker who has just put up a poster, and her co-workers and plant leaders are reading it. She is representative of the new worker who, tempered in the cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Plao and Confucius, is conscious of her role as a master of the factory and not a slave to a machine, and who dares to fight wrong tendencies. It also expresses the new relationship between leaders and workers, one of mutual concern and help, of unity in revolution and production."

Source: *China Reconstructs*, May 1975, pp. 36–37

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"Follow Tong Tzu's Fighting Spirit"

The children are reminded of the youthful hero who, armed with brush and ink, made his own posters and wrote his own words. The children are expected to write their own "big character" and "little character" posters and to do battle with brush and ink, ladders, glue, paper and pail. The heading of the poster reads "March Forward and Criticize Lin Piao and Confucius."

Source: Reproduction in Stewart Fraser, *100 Great Chinese Posters* (New York: Images Graphiques, Inc., 1977), p. 66.

"We Challenge the Sun and Moon to Change the New World"

Working together, the people will be able to control flooding of the Yellow River. Here they are shown digging the control levee banks. The poster says: "Determined to Tame the Yellow River."

Source: Reproduction in Stewart Fraser, *100 Great Chinese Posters* (New York: Images Graphiques, Inc., 1977), p. 50.

"Revolutionary Committees are Good"

The banners the workers hold state: "The Establishment of Revolutionary Committees," and "Long Live Great Leader Chairman Mao."

Source: Reproduction in Stewart Fraser, *100 Great Chinese Posters* (New York: Images Graphiques, Inc., 1977), p. 110.

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"Serve Workers, Peasants and Soldiers— Join Workers, Soldiers and Peasants"

"Workers, soldiers and farmers are the leading groups in Chinese society. The girl with the red lantern symbolizes youth and the old man with the peasant headscarf represents the experience party member who is providing leadership. . . ."

Source: Reproduction in Stewart Fraser, *100 Great Chinese Posters* (New York: Images Graphiques, Inc., 1977), p. 83.

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Gandhi with his Brother, 1886

Gandhi, on the left, with his brother
Courtesy of the Consulate of India, New York City

Gandhi as a Law Student in London, 1890

Courtesy of the Consulate of India, New York City

GANDHI AT 31, 1900

Courtesy of the Consulate of India, New York City

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Gandhi as a Lawyer in South Africa, 1906

Courtesy of the Consulate of India, New York City

Gandhi in South Africa, 1913

Gandhi in South Africa when he was leading the *Satyagraha* movement in South Africa.
Gandhi designed this clothing.
Courtesy of the Consulate of India, New York City

GANDHI AND HIS WIFE, 1915

Gandhi dressed as a Kathiawari gentleman, with his wife Kasturbai, on their return to India
Courtesy of the Consulate of India, New York City

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Gandhi with Abdul Ghaffer Khan, 1940

Courtesy of the Consulate of India, New York City

Gandhi in a Loincloth, 1942

Courtesy of the Consulate of India, New York City

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Glossary

ahimsa	Jain and later Hindu concept of non-injury to any living thing.
annas	Indian money—about four cents at the time
bighas	an Indian land measurement equaling about two acres
Chairman Mao	term applied to Mao Zedong (Tse-tung) as head of the communist party
Civil Disobedience	publicly breaking unjust laws and accepting full punishment for doing so
class enemies	those groups such as money lenders, large landlords and capitalists who Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung) regarded as against the interest of the masses of people.
Confucianism	the system of Chinese ethics based on the teachings of Confucious.
Dharma	In Hinduism, following one's true identity, ideal of fulfilling ones intended role, appropriate action.
dhotis	wrapped cloth around a man's waist; simple Indian dress
evil gentry	Communist term for aristocratic class who sided with the Guomindang or warlords
Guomindang	the nationalist party led by Chiang Kai-shek.
Great Leap Forward	Mao's attempt in 1958 to launch reforms that would bring China quickly into the modern world
guerrilla warfare	a form of armed struggle where people live off the goodwill of the people and make sudden raids and other harassments of the enemy who is usually much more powerful
Harijans	Gandhi's name for ex-untouchables
Jain	religious group that follows the teaching of Mahavira; they developed the concept of *ahimsa*
Kiangshi (Jiangxi)	province in southwest China where Mao organized peasants
khadi	homespun Indian cloth

Kshatriya	one of four varnas; those who fight and govern
lathis	a bamboo stick tipped with metal. Used by police.
Mahatma	"Great Soul." Title given to Gandhi by the people.
Mahatmaji	term of affection people gave to Mohandas Gandhi
market economic principles	an economic system where supply and demand determine price and the government stays away from economic controls.
Marxist-Leninist	philosophy of socialism based on the writings of Karl Marx and Nikoli Lenin
Panchayats	local village governing body; literally group of five
paper tigers	term used by Mao Zedong (Tse-tung) to describe the United States and her allies
peasant	one who tills the soil and whose produce is controlled by others.
resocialize	the process of changing the consciousness of an individual from an undesirable outlook to a world view similar to those who want to do the resocializing
resolving contradictions	Marxist concept of bringing together opposing ideas so that contradiction does not exist
Sanskrit	ancient Indian language related to Greek and Latin
satyagraha	truth force, Gandhi's basic philosophy
semicolonial	Mao Tse-tung's idea that China still had a colonial mentality even though the colonial powers had gone
semifeudal	Mao Zedong's concept of the Chinese people caught in the mentality of feudalism.
Soviet	a council in which people play a large role in governing themselves according to Marxist-Leninsit teaching.
Sun Tzu's classic *Art of War*	Chinese text on how to wage war, often by not fighting directly with the enemy
Swaraj	Indian idea of "freedom" in the nationalist movement
Talukdars	large landlord
Zamindars	large landlord and tax collector

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